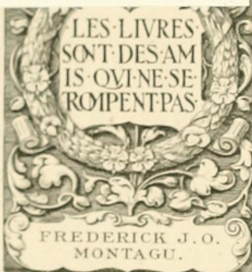






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**C O N T A I N E D I N T H E**  
**Q U A R T O E D I T I O N.**

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C O N T E N T S.

**T**HE NINTH BOOK OF THE  
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THREE SERMONS ON DIFFERENT  
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Preached before the King, at Kensington,  
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THE



**THE NINTH BOOK**  
**OF THE**  
**DIVINE LEGATION**  
**OF**  
**M O S E S:**

**BEING AN ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN**  
**THE TRUE NATURE AND GENIUS**  
**OF THE**  
**CHRISTIAN RELIGION.**

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**Printed, so far as it goes, by the AUTHOR ; but**  
**never before published, and left unfinished.**

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## INTRODUCTION\*.

**T**RUTH, the great Object of all honest as well as rational Inquiries, had been long sought for in vain ; when, the Search now become desperate, after the fruitless toil of the best qualified Sages, and of the most improved times, She suddenly appeared in PERSON to put these benighted Wanderers in their Way. I AM THE TRUTH, says the Saviour of the World. This was his Moral Nature ; of more concern for us to know, than his Physical ; and, on that account, explained more at large in his *eternal Gospel*.

\* See Sermon, concerning *The Nature and Condition of Truth*. R. W.



4            *The Divine Legation*      Book IX.

This last book, therefore, being an attempt to explain the true NATURE AND GENIUS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION; I shall,

1. First of all, previously examine those sceptical Objections, which, in the long absence of Truth, the World had begun to entertain of her very Being and existence; or at least, of our capacity to discover, and get hold of her. And these being removed,

2. I shall, in the second place, lay down, under what laws, and with what disposition of mind, I have ventured to use the aids of REASON to explain the TRUTHS OF REVELATION.

3. And, lastly, I shall attempt to remove the Prejudices which may arise against any new discoveries in support of REVELATION, which the method here employed to analyze that capital *truth* of all, THE FAITH, may possibly enable us to make.

I.

That ancient Remedy against Error, a *Pyrrhonian*, or, if you like it better, an *Academic*

*Academic SCEPTICISM*, only added one more disorder to the human Mind; but being the last of its misbegotten issue, it became, as is usual, the favorite of its Parent.

Our blessed MASTER himself was the first to encounter its attacks, and the insolence of that School has kept the Church in breath ever since.

When Jesus was carried before Pilate as a Criminal of State, for calling himself *King of the Jews*, he tried to shorten the intended process by pleading that *his Kingdom was not of this World*. But Pilate, alarmed at the names of *King* and *Kingdom*, asked, *art thou a King then?* The other replied,—*For this cause came I into the World, that I should bear Witness unto the TRUTH. Pilate saith unto him, WHAT IS TRUTH? And when he said this, he went out again*\*. For when he found that the *Kingdom* claimed by the supposed Criminal, was a *Kingdom* merely *Spiritual*, or, in the Roman Governor's conceit, a *Kingdom* only

\* John chap. xviii. ver. 38.

in idea, he considered the Claim as no proper subject of the civil tribunal. So far he acted well, and suitably to his public Character. But when he discovered his indifference to, or rather contempt of, TRUTH, when offered to be laid before him as a private Man, by one who, he knew, had the repute of exercising every superior Power proper to enforce it, he appears, to me, in a light much less excusable.

The negligent air of his insulting question will hardly admit of an Apology.—  
 “ You tell me (says he) of TRUTH, a word  
 “ in the mouth of every Leader and Fol-  
 “ lower of a SECT ; who all agree (though  
 “ in nothing else) to give that name to  
 “ their own Opinions ; While TRUTH, if,  
 “ indeed, we allow of its Existence, still  
 “ wanders at large, and in disguise. Nor  
 “ does the Detection seem worth the Pains  
 “ of the Search, since those things which  
 “ Nature intended for general use she made  
 “ plain and obvious, and within the reach  
 “ of all men.”

Sentiments like these bespoke the Ruler of  
 an Asiatic Province, who had heard so much

of



of TRUTH in the Schools of Philosophy; and had heard of it to so little purpose. This corrupt Governor, therefore, finding a Jewish Sage talk of *bearing Witness to the Truth*, (the affected Office of the Grecian Sophists), was ready to conclude that Jesus was one of their mimic Followers. For it was now become fashionable amongst the learned Rabbins to enlist themselves into one or other of those celebrated Schools. Thus the famous Philo was an outrageous PLATONIST: And Jesus calling himself a KING, together with the known Purity and Severity of his Morals, probably made Pilate consider him as one of the STOICAL *wise men*, who alone was free, and happy, and a *King*.

“Liber, honoratus, pulcher, Rex denique Regum.”

Now, as on the one hand, the Character of the Greek Philosophy, which was of an abstract nature, and sequestered from civil business, made Pilate conclude, that these Claims of Jesus had nothing in them dangerous or alarming; so, on the other hand,

8      *The Divine Legation*      Book IX.

its endless disputes and quarrels about TRUTH, and which of the Sects had her in keeping, made Men of the World, and especially those in public Stations, whose practice declined the test of any moral System whatsoever, willing to be persuaded, and ready to conclude, that this boasted TRUTH, which pretended to be the sole Directress of human conduct, was indeed no better than a shifting and fantastic Vision.

This, I presume, was the light in which Pilate considered the SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD. Had he suspected Jesus of being the Founder of a public and a popular Religion, which aimed to be erected on the ruins of the established Worship, the jealousies of the Roman Court, since the loss of public liberty, had, doubtless, made this servile Minister of Power very attentive, and even officious, to suppress it in its birth.

But if the ill usage of TRUTH by the Philosophers could so disgust the Politician of old, as to indispose him to an acquaintance of this importance, what must we  
think

think will be her reception amongst modern Statesmen, whose views are neither more pure nor more generous ; and whose penetration, perhaps, does not go much beyond the busy Men of Antiquity ; when they see her so freely handled by those, amongst us, who call themselves her Ministers, and profess to consecrate her to the Service of Religion ? Amongst such, I mean of the active no less than of the idle part of the fashionable World, Pilate's scornful question is become proverbial, when they would insinuate, that TRUTH, like *Virtue*, is nothing but a *name*.

What is this TRUTH, say they, of which the world has heard so much, and has received so little satisfaction ? But above all, what is that GOSPEL TRUTH, the pretended Guide of life, which its Ministers are wont so much to discredit in their very attempts to recommend ? For while *objections* to Religion lie level to the capacities of the Vulgar, the *solution* of them requires the utmost stretch of parts and learning in the Teacher to excogitate, and equal application and attention in the Learner to comprehend.



prehend. From which (say they) we are naturally led to conclude, that the *Gospel doctrines* are no Truths, or at least, Truths of no general concern ; since they are neither uniformly held by those who are employed to teach them, nor subject to the examination of such as are enjoined to receive them.

Something like this, I apprehend, may be the way of thinking, and talking too, amongst those who have more decently discarded all care and concern about the Things of Religion.

And as our acquired passions and appetites have concurred with the constitutional weakness of our nature to form these conclusions against TRUTH, and especially against that best part of it, RELIGIOUS TRUTH, Charity seems to call upon us to detect and lay open the general causes which have given birth to Men's prejudices against it.

I. And first, with regard to TRUTH in general ;—of the various hindrances to its discovery, and of Men's backwardness to acquiesce in it, when luckily found.

The

The first and surest Means of acquiring the good we seek, is our love and affection for the object. This quickens our industry, and sharpens our attention. On this account the LOVE OF TRUTH hath always been recommended by the Masters of Wisdom as the best means of succeeding in the pursuit of it. Hardly any one suspects that he wants this Love: yet there are few whom their confidence does not deceive. We mistake the love of our *Opinions* for the *love of Truth*, because we suppose our own Opinions, *true*: Yet, for the most part, we received them upon trust; and consequently, they are much more likely to be false: So that our affections being now misplaced, they are a greater hindrance in the pursuit of TRUTH, than if we had no affections at all concerning it.

How then shall we know when we have this love? for still it is necessary we should have it, if we would search after TRUTH to any good purpose. It is difficult to describe what every man must feel for himself; and yet it is as dangerous to trust our own feelings, when the Object is so easily mistaken.

mistaken    However, when we set out in pursuit of TRUTH as of a Stranger ; and not in Search of Arguments to support our Acquaintance with preconceived Opinions : When we possess ourselves in a perfect indifference for every thing but known and well-attested TRUTH ; regardless of the place from whence it comes, or of that to which it seems to be going : When the Mind, I say, is in this State, no one, I think, can fairly suspect the reality of its attachment.

1. But our APPETITES rarely suffer us to observe this strict and rigid conduct. We seek the gratification of our humour even in the Laws which should correct it. Hence so many various SYSTEMS OF MORALITY to suit every man's bent of Mind and frame of Constitution. The Indolent, the Active, the Sanguine, the Flegmatic, and the Saturnine, have all their correspondent Theories. And from thenceforth, the concern of each is not the *trial*, but the *support* of his Opinions ; which can be no otherwise provided for than by keeping the arguments in favour of them always in view,

view, and by contriving to have those of a less benign aspect overlooked or forgotten.

2. **PREJUDICES** mislead the Enquirer no less than his *passions*. He venerates the notions he received from his Forefathers : He rests in them on the authority of those whose judgement he esteems ; or, at least, wishes well to them for the sake of the honours or profits he sees attached to the profession of them. Nay, he can persuade himself to patronize what he hath once chosen, for reasons with which **TRUTH** has no manner of concern. He likes them because they are *old* ; because they are *new* ; for being *plain and simple* ; for being *sublime and mysterious* ; for being followed by the *Few* ; for being followed by the *Many* : in a word, on a thousand other accounts still more remote from the conclusions of common sense.

But then, bad as this is, since it is, at the same time, apparent, that the impediments in pursuit of **TRUTH** are not *essential*, but only *accidental* to the Inquiry, we may well account for our mistakes in setting out ; for the slowness of our progress ; and

the rubs and oppositions we meet in our passage, without having recourse to any *sceptical* conclusions in favour of the incomprehensible *nature* of TRUTH, or the inaccessible *situation* in which the Author of all things hath been pleased to place her. For, is it any reason, that because some Truths are so deep that our haste and impatience will not allow us time to sound them ; others so disguised that our dissipation will not enable us to unmask their pretences ; and others again, so unfriendly to our prejudices as to indispose us to examine them : That, because some errors wear so plausible a face as to look like TRUTH ; others, so commodious an appearance as to be readily received for TRUTH ; and others again, so fashionable as to claim all the privileges due to TRUTH ; is, I say, all, or any thing of this, a reason for sober men to conclude, that either there is no difference between *Truth* and *Falseness* ; or that the *difference* is so insensible that it will not serve us for a *distinction* ? Our Senses, in many cases ; our Reason, in more ; and our very Hearts in almost all, will tell us the contrary.

II. Secondly, with regard to RELIGIOUS TRUTH. 1. Mistaken constancy, or more tenacious ZEAL, make some men prejudiced in favour of *less allowed* Opinions: And the obliquer affections of avarice or ambition make others declare for such as are *established*. OPPOSITION likewise will too much dispose Both, to support what they may even suspect to be false, and to secrete what they know to be true. This draws them still further from the road of TRUTH; while all they seek is to be at distance from one another's Parties and Opinions.

2. Inveterate errors, long since sanctified by Time and Authority, concerning the nature and end of SCRIPTURE, are another occasion of the disgraces to which *Revelation* is become subject.

GOD'S WRITTEN WORD is so commonly and so justly honoured with the name of THE TRUTH; and holy Writ in general so frequently recommended for its virtue in *leading us into all Truth*, that simple, well-meaning men have been apt to regard it as a Treasury of Science; and to apply to it  
for

for all the principles of human knowledge. How wretchedly, for instance, hath the Mosaic account of the Creation been dishonoured, by the wild and fanciful expositions of men besotted by this or that Sect of heathen PHILOSOPHY, or of Christian MYSTICISM ! Platonists, Materialists, Cartesians, Chemists, Cabalists, and all the impure Fry of Physical, Philological, and Spiritual Enthusiasts, have found each his own whimsies realised in the first and second chapters of the Book of Genesis.

Again, how impiously have the JEWISH LAW and the GOSPEL OF JESUS been abused by Slaves and Sycophants, to find, in one, the DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS; and, in the other, the SUPREME DOMINION OF THE CHURCH.

But amidst all this folly and mischief, arising from a perversion of the BIBLE, to support human Systems of Philosophy and Politics, had men only reflected, that though the Bible tells us, it was *written to make men wise*—it addeth—*unto salvation* \*.

\* 2 Tim. iii. 15.

they

they would have fought for the Principles of *natural* and *civil* knowledge amongst their proper Professors; and have studied Scripture only to investigate that WISDOM *which is from above, and is first PURE, then PEACEABLE* \*. A *wisdom* which, at the same time that it rectifies the understanding, purifies the heart; and so removes all ground of contention raised by a perplexed head or a heated temper.

The first Propagators of our holy FAITH, under the immediate Commission of their Master, were, in this, as in all other parts of their conduct, truly admirable. What they chiefly proposed to the People at large, was the BELIEF of a few clear and simple propositions, as *necessary to Salvation*: When they addressed themselves to those chosen Particulars, who were fitly qualified and rightly disposed, they as warmly recommend EXAMINATION:—to *Search the Scriptures* †, and to *try all things*.

Yet the only use a late Writer ‡ could find in so sage and generous a conduct, was to abuse it, in a prophane piece of drollery,

\* James iii. 17. † John v. 39. ‡ Dodwell.



under the form of a serious question, *Whether Christianity was founded in Argument or in Faith?* which, however designed for Wit, was just as wise as, *Whether St. Paul's Clock* was constructed on MECHANISM or on MOTION? Since, if the Clock was seen to have *motion*, we could not but conclude that the *motion* arose from *mechanism*. So, if the vital principle of Christianity be FAITH, it can be no other than such a *Faith* as stands upon *Reason*, and is supported by *Argument*. A wild Indian, perhaps, might fancy that St. Paul's Clock was animated, and put in motion by a Spirit: And an Enthusiast, still wilder than the Savage, may say that *Faith is but the Seal of a supernatural impression*. Yet surely, none but a Fool of the *old* stamp, or a Fanatic of the *new*, would be willing to discard REASON, in pursuit of his *future* happiness, when he has already found IT so useful in procuring his *present*. For both present and future Good are, alike, acquired by the proper adaption of *means* to *ends*. An operation which, all must confess, the Aid of REASON only  
can

can effectually perform. Nor hath this faithful Guide of life ever afforded cause of complaint or jealousy. When men, who profess to be under HER guidance, find themselves bewildered, they should suspect, not HER, but themselves. And, on a fair examination, I suppose, they will always find, that they have been *directing* REASON when they should have been *directed* by HER. But the wayward Affections which occasion her discredit, go on in their illusions to excite our distrust.

## II.

Thus much for SCEPTICISM, that bane of human Science, which, while it boasts to be the NERVES OF THE MIND \*, deprives it of all its force and vigor. I now proceed to consider the temper and disposition necessary to be acquired by us, before we can safely and profitably employ the AIDS OF REASON to explain the TRUTHS OF REVELATION.

\* — ἄρα ταῦτα τῷ φρονίῳ. Epicharmus.

The greatest impediment to Men's advancement in the knowledge of the nature and genius of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION hath ever been their adopting or espousing some favorite HYPOTHESIS, whereon to erect the *Gospel System*. For every dispensation of true Religion, consisting of *means and end*, the well-adapting these to each other, produceth what we call a SYSTEM.

Now this may be built either on an HYPOTHESIS, which is a *supposed* truth, or on a FACT, which is a *real* one. And the Systems of Theology have, for the most part, been unwarily framed on the former model; which, as we say, have much entangled and perplexed our searches after Truth.

Into this mistake men easily fell by injudiciously applying, to the SYSTEM OF GRACE, the method which Philosophers invented, when they set upon explaining the SYSTEM OF NATURE.

They did not consider that any plausible Hypothesis in Physics hath its use, as it serves to shew from what Laws the Natural Phænomena *may* arise. Nor is it destitute

titute of more particular uses ; thus the *Ptolemaic Hypothesis* enables Astronomers to predict Eclipses as well as the *Copernican Theory*.

But a mere Hypothesis, to explain, *the Dispensation of Grace*, is not only useless, but often, hurtful.

The reason is apparent. It is agreed by all sober and intelligent Naturalists, that God is the Author of the *Material System* : But it is the great question in debate between Religionists and Unbelievers, Whether God be indeed the Author of the *System of Grace*.

At worst, therefore, a false Hypothesis in Physics only keeps hid, or leaves unexplained, the chief beauties of the *Material Creation* : And the disgrace, to which this Method is subject, falls only upon the successful Inquirer ; because every such false or fanciful Hypothesis carries along with it, even in the very arguments for its support, the Conviction of its falsehood. But a groundless Hypothesis, in *religious* matters, by affording (and it can afford no other) an unfavourable representation of

the moral Attributes of God (his *Goodness* and his *Justice*) becomes a fatal discredit to the Doctrine of *Redemption*.

Yet, at the same time, it is but *just* to observe, that such is the fate and condition of sublunary things, that these sometimes exchange their proper qualities, and produce effects not correspondent to their respective natures.

Thus, in the case as thus considered, we have shewn how harmless a mere hypothesis in Physics generally is, and, on the contrary, how one in Religion is as generally pernicious. Yet sometimes we shall find the *Physical* Hypothesis to be hurtful, and the *Religious* useful.

The *Ptolemaic* System, by destroying all that simplicity of *motion* to be expected in these Works of God, hath, along with its civil and practical use, occasioned a speculative mischief; and inclined men to Atheism; as appears in the case of Alphonius, who impiously boasted, that, had he been consulted about the Solar System, he could have advised how it might have been better constructed. I call it an *impious* boast,  
because

because it plainly insinuated, that he (who had discovered the imperfections of the Ptolemaic Construction, and was ignorant of the true) ascribed the whole to a *blind and unintelligent Cause*. Again, the *Cartesian*, with his Corpuscularian Hypothesis, attempts to explain all the Phænomena of Nature by *matter and motion*; requiring only that God should at first create a sufficient quantity of each, just enough to set him on work, and then pretends to do the business without his further aid; that is, without the concurrence of any VITAL PRINCIPLE to help him forward, in an immaterial way; this *Hypothesis*, I say, which, on the one hand, so much contributed to free Philosophy from the nonsense and tyranny of the SCHOOLS, yet, on the other, produced (while it was in vogue) many rank and irreligious *Materialists*.

But once more turn the tables, and then, so shifting is this state of things, we shall see, although we have shewn that, in the heights and purer regions of Theology, a *mere hypothesis* is likely to disturb and perplex our views, yet there is an inferior

Station in that service, where the Divine may employ this counterfeit of a true Theory to very good purpose; in discrediting such objections to Revelation as have gained credit by our imperfect ideas of the true System of the *intellectual World*. Here a probable hypothesis is of use, as it may serve to convince objectors, that what we find recorded in Sacred Scripture of the Origin and Progress of God's extraordinary Dispensation to Man, may be very consistent with what human Reason teacheth of the divine Essence and Attributes. And the more we can frame of those probable Solutions, the more support we give to *Revelation*, though it be only by arguments *ad ignorantiam*.

Notwithstanding all this, it appears, upon the whole, that a successful Search after Religious Truths can be then only expected when we erect our System upon FACT; acknowledged *Facts*, as they are recorded in Sacred Scripture.

For if the Dispensation, to which such Facts belong, be indeed from God, all the Parts of it will be seen to be the correspondent

spondent Members of one entire WHOLE ; which orderly disposition of things, essential to a religious SYSTEM, will assure us of the TRUE THEORY of the Christian Faith.

But the *abuse of Words*, confounding those of HYPOTHESIS and SYSTEM with one another (the word *System* being a common term, which may be applied equally to an *Hypothesis* or a *true Theory*) hath thrown a discredit on the latter, with which the former only is chargeable. Examples of this the attentive Reader may find among the numberless Cavils to the Work of *The Divine Legation*.

Hitherto we have endeavoured to shew in what way HUMAN REASON should be employed on religious matters.

But then, how far, when thus employed, She is to be *indulged*, is the next thing to be considered.

The three moral Attributes of the Godhead, discoverable by natural Light, on which men are accustomed to examine the pretensions of *Revelation*, are his JUSTICE, his GOODNESS, and his WISDOM. But the Reasoner



Reasoner on Religion will transgress his bounds; unless he confine himself within the *two first*. The evidence of this assertion is convincing.

To form a right judgement of the divine Attributes of JUSTICE and GOODNESS, the only *relations*, to be taken into consideration, are those of GÔD and MAN. But to judge truly of the WISDOM of the Godhead, other *relations* besides those of God and Man, namely, the whole order of intellectual Beings, dispersed throughout the universe, are to be added to the account: Of whom, further than of their mere existence, we know nothing.

From hence it is seen, that we may safely determine, whether any thing in REVELATION contradict God's JUSTICE and GOODNESS. If it doth, such Revelation is to be rejected. Not so, with regard to his WISDOM, therein manifested in any particular instance; although our natural knowledge of the Being and Attributes of God assures us, that the GREAT ALL is conducted with the most consummate *Wisdom*.

· REVE-

REVELATION therefore is not to be rejected on account of difficulties arising from our ignorance of *all the relations* necessary to be taken in, when we would attempt to form a complete judgment of the exertion of the *Attribute of Wisdom*.

Why this precise mode of REDEMPTION *by the death and sufferings of Christ* was preferred to all other, in the eternal purpose of the Godhead, exceeds the powers of human reason to discover; because his Attribute of WISDOM, which is out of the reach of man to apply to this inquiry, is here concerned. But when it hath been proved by *Fact*, that a Religion was revealed in which *this mode of Redemption* is employed, then Reason may lend her modest aid to shew (what a *rational Religion* seems to expect should be shewn) that *this precise mode* is conformable to all our ideas of divine *goodness and justice*: Nay, that it best quadrates with, as it is seen to be the properest means of, a RESTORATION TO A FREE GIFT, WHEN BECOME FORFEITED.

This difference in the Application of Reason to religious matters, MOSES hath

not

not obscurely intimated to his People; where, in his last direction for their conduct, he says, *The SECRET THINGS belong unto the LORD our GOD ; but those things which are REVEALED belong to us and to OUR CHILDREN, for ever \**; and had I not observed this sage direction, but vainly endeavoured to explain Mysteries which the Gospel hath left unexplained, I should justly have incurred the Censure of Jerom to his Adversaries. *Why (says this Father) do you pretend, after so many ages are elapsed, to teach us what was never taught before ! Why, attempt to EXPLAIN what neither PETER nor PAUL thought it necessary to be known † ?*

1. The Principles, here laid down, may be of use, First, to direct future Enquirers in the RIGHT WAY ; where, if, on other accounts, they make but slow advances, they are, at least, kept from wandering in the dark. For while the bounds of *Reason* continue unsettled, and the use and abuse of this noble instrument of Truth remain

\* Dent. xxix. 29.

† — *Ad Panmachium & Oceanum de erroribus Origenis.*  
COLL-

confounded with one another, the very ablest Seeker will be embarrassed and misled \*. Hence it hath come to pass, that this first and necessary step in support of our holy Faith, AN INQUIRY INTO THE TRUE NATURE AND GENIUS OF THE GOSPEL-DISPENSATIONS, hath been so generally overlooked: instead of which a thousand metaphysical subtilties on the *terms* and *phrases* under which the doctrine of SAVING GRACE is conveyed, have engaged men's principal attention; while the thing itself, a matter of the utmost importance, hath been suffered to lie in all the Obscurity in which old Polemics had involved it. So true hath our perverse nature ever been to itself. “Hoc habet ingenium humanum,” (says the great Philosopher) “ut cum ad SOLIDA non sufficiat, in SUPERVACANEIS se atterat †.”

2. Another use of these Principles is to convince Unbelievers, that REVEALED RELIGION affords, and is productive of, all the evidence which the nature of the thing

\* Limborch's *Amica collatio cum erudito Judæo.*

† Bacon.

requires;

requires; and consequently, all which right reason can expect: And that the strongest of their objections to it arise from the abusive exercise of our Faculties, employed on objects which those Faculties can neither apprehend nor reach.

### III.

But now, all PARTIES, in support of their oblique interests, have concurred to decry *this method of Inquiry*; whereby, from the various genius, the comparative excellence, the mutual dependence, the reciprocal illustration of the several parts of God's moral Dispensation to Mankind, and the gradual progress of the Whole towards perfection, great discoveries have been made in these latter times, by men who dared to break the barrier, which Bigotry and Superstition had been so long forming, to obstruct our views both of NATURE and of GRACE.

These PARTIES ask, How it happened that *Discoveries* so sublime and useful, as is pretended, were *now* to make; when  
the

the *light of the spirit* was sent so early, and had illuminated the Church so long?—How it happened, that these Truths were denied to the best times, and, after lying hid for many ages, were reserved for the reward of the very worst? And then, in their real or pretended reverence for *Establishments*, concur in condemning all EXPERIMENTS IN RELIGION.

To these, under their sad suspicions of the issue, in forsaking the OLD POSTURE OF DEFENCE, it will be sufficient to reply,

1. That the promise and gift of the *Holy Spirit* may be considered, either as they referred to the first Propagators of the Faith, or as they concerned the Teachers of it, ever since.

As to the first Propagators, there is no doubt of their being abundantly enlightened for the work of their Ministry; whether it was in making Converts, in founding Churches, or in composing those occasional instructions, by which the Faithful, in all ages, may improve the current benefits of the same Spirit. As to the succeeding Teachers of the word, the assistance they  
receive

receive from the HOLY SPIRIT, is the second point we are more particularly to consider.

Now the endowment of GRACE is, in this respect, pretty much the same with the endowment of NATURE; of little advantage to the receiver without his co-operation. God hath bestowed upon us hands and feet, to procure good, and to avert evil; but it is to the careful and habitual application of these members to their proper uses, that we owe all the benefits they are capable of producing. So it is with the free gift of the *Spirit*. It is bestowed upon us, to enlighten the understanding, and to redress the disorders of the Will. But it does not work like a *Charm*: for if either we *neglect to employ* these given powers, or *will divert* them to improper subjects, the use and efficacy of *Grace* must certainly be defeated.

This Ordinance, in the œconomy of GRACE, may receive credit from what is seen to have happened in the œconomy of NATURE. The power, wisdom, and goodness of the Almighty is so evident and con-

vincing, from every obvious configuration of matter surrounding us, that these Attributes cannot escape the most inattentive, or lie concealed from the most short-sighted. Hence a God, the Maker, the Preserver, and Governor of the World, is the universal voice of Nature.

NOW CREATION and GOVERNMENT, from whence the *morality* of human Actions is deduced, are the foundation of NATURAL RELIGION: so that GOD cannot be said to have been wanting in the discovery of himself to the lowest of his rational Creatures: Yet, though the general and obvious marks of his *power*, *wisdom*, and *goodness*, obtrude themselves upon all men, it is nevertheless certain that a well-directed study of the Book of Nature opens to us such stupendous wonders of his *Power*, such awful Scenes of his *Wisdom*, and such enchanting prospects of his *Goodness*, as far exceed all conception of the unlearned and uninstructed Beholder. Some faint taste of these delights the more inquisitive enjoyed very early; But those who came after, by indulging too much to ab-



abstract SPECULATION, and trusting too little to EXPERIMENT, instead of discovering a *real world*, the Archetype of its Maker, invented a variety of *imaginary* ones, all as dishonourable, as they were unrelated to him. At length, two of our own countrymen of superior genius chalked out a different road to the study of Nature, in which vague conjecture was excluded ; and *facts*, verified, on *experiments*, were allowed to be the only inlet to physical knowledge. Henceforth, NATURE was set before us, unveiled ; and her Sacred Mysteries held out to the knowledge and admiration of all men.

This was the progress in the ways of NATURE : The ways of GRACE ran the very same fortune.

The great Principles of *revealed Religion* are FAITH and OBEDIENCE. These, which are alone sufficient to *make men wise unto Salvation*, are clearly and fully taught in the *Gospel*. But we should greatly derogate from God's *moral Government*, did we not allow it to abound in the like sublime Wonders with the *Natural*. And to the study

study of the first, there are more important Calls, and much greater Advantages. The knowledge of God's *moral Government*, as far as concerns his religious Dispensations, is the duty of every man : and, indeed, the whole business of the Ministers of his *revealed word*. So that partly, for the use and importance of the subject, partly, for the necessity of making head against the Enemies of Revelation, but chiefly in obedience to the Command, TO STUDY THE SCRIPTURES, it hath, from the first ages of the Church to the present times, been one of the principal occupations of the learned. Yet what, from unfavourable circumstances in the *civil* and *literary* world ; what from the varying bias of occasional prejudices ; but, above all, from the sordid interests and blind passions of men occupied in these inquiries ; the various Schemes of Religion, pretended to be found in *Scripture*, but indeed the workmanship of *Divines*, had dishonoured the Doctrine of REDEMPTION near as much as the hypotheses of *Philosophers* had dishonoured the History of the CREATION. Till here again, as in the former case, the same caution and sobriety which directed

men to the true method of treating *things material*, by a careful study of the volume of NATURE, led them into the right way of explaining *things spiritual*, by a careful study of the volume of GRACE. So that if, in these times, the advances in the knowledge of God's WILL should haply prove as considerable as those in the discovery of his WORKS, it will not be beside a reasonable expectation : as similar causes are wont to produce similar effects.

I have placed these correspondent accounts of the progress of the human faculties, in NATURE and in GRACE, in this neighbourly position, that the Reader, by setting them together, and comparing them with one another, may see, whether there be any Objections to NEW DISCOVERIES in Religion, which do not equally hold against NEW DISCOVERIES in Nature ; of which, for their *newness* alone, no one ever yet entertained the least doubt or suspicion of their TRUTH.

For let us compare the Almighty's *display of his nature* in the great Volume of his WORKS, with *the declaration of his Will*  
in

in the lesser Volume of his WORD, and we shall find the same marks of GOODNESS to be alike conspicuous in both cases.

In his *Works*, a man need but open his Eyes to see, in every Object, the God which claims his adoration : In his *Word*, the Man who *runs*, *may read*, the Means and Method of his own Salvation. In neither case, is any thing wanting to instruct the most simple in their dependence and their duty ; in which, consists their *happiness*.— For further information in the works and ways of Providence, God wisely reserved it for the reward of the manly and virtuous improvement of the human faculties.

It is true in fact, as hath been already intimated, that throughout a long series of Ages, neither of these Inquirers made any very considerable Advances in REAL KNOWLEDGE. But it is as true, that what hindered Both, proceeded not so much from difficulties in the things sought after, as from the wrong Methods employed in the search. For, instead of addressing themselves to discover the *true Constitution* of Things from the Frame of God's works,

as objected to their Senses; or the *true End* of Revelation from Sacred Scripture, as it there lies open to their Contemplation; they framed fanciful hypotheses, out of their own slender stock of ideas; and then, by distorting Nature, and wresting the Bible awry, they forced both one and the other, to Father their own blind and spurious Issue.

But when once DIVINES and PHILOSOPHERS were become sensible of their wrong Courses; and, in consequence of that conviction, had measured back their steps; and with more modesty and better sense had renounced their fancies, and erected Theories on the real constitution of things; it is wonderful to conceive what discoveries were soon made in *Natural* and *Religious* Truths.

THESE TWO IMPORTANT STUDIES, therefore, being alike circumstanced, and having run the same fortune, demand, in all reasonable allowance, the same judgement to be passed on their pretences.

But Men are not accustomed to be thus equitable. One of the readiest, as well as  
most

most impudent exploits of Prejudice, is to draw *unlike* conclusions from *similar* Premises.

It is confessed, that the book of Nature is so plain and clear, that every Sentence reveals and proclaims its Almighty Author: that if its more sublime or more profound truths have lain concealed, or been kept out of sight, for Ages, it was the fault of the inquirers, who adhered so long to a perverse method of studying Nature: for that as soon as ever they began to seek a better, and to prosecute it with care and sobriety, KNOWLEDGE suddenly opened and enlarged its Empire; while the blaze of light, which accompanied its progress, was so far from making Truth suspected for the newness of its Splendour, that it dissipated all those doubts which had been entertained of its obscure nature, and equivocal Claims and Prerogatives.

But now, if we turn from the *Physical* to the *Moral* state of things, we shall find, Men have drawn different inferences from similar cases.—Because, in their search after the higher Truths of Religion, they

had been long unsuccessful, they not only took umbrage at these now found, and, like some jewels, found too by their own surrounding light, but conceived fresh doubts even of the most obvious principles which led to these late discoveries.

2. There is, yet, another sort of Believers (and this brings me to the second part of the Objection) who, from too great a reverence for things established, join with such as have too little, in decrying all NOVELTIES in religious Matters. These men, in abhorrence of the Vanity of being wiser than their Fathers, have, in express terms, denounced their displeasure against MAKING, what they call, EXPERIMENTS IN RELIGION.

This is strange language in a Country of Liberty; and stranger still, in an Age of Reason. DIVINES, it is true, have long disputed *how experiments in Religion should be made!* Some would depend on *Scripture* alone; others were for taking in, *Fathers and Councils*; a third sort, for adding *Tradition* to the process; and a fourth, for applying *raillery and ridicule* to quicken

the operation. So that, ever since the fall of Monckery, all were for *making some Experiment or other*. For what is *making* sober *experiments*, but (as hath been shewn) supporting and illustrating REVELATION by new Arguments, furnished by new *Discoveries* made in the Order, Fitness, and Harmony of God's various Dispensations of Religion amongst themselves, and with one another ; just as PHILOSOPHERS (from whom the Word is borrowed, and we see how unluckily) unfold Nature by new discoveries, made from repeated trials on the obvious qualities and hidden Contents of Material Substances.

*No experiments in Religion* is indeed the civil cant of POLITICIANS ; for *Bigotry* and *State-craft* often meet ; as extremes easily run into one another by the very attempt to keep them at a distance. This, as I say, is one of the fundamental Articles of the Statesman's Creed. For Religion being useful to Society ; and yet, in his Opinion, only a well-invented Fiction, all *experiments*, that is, all strict inquiries into its Nature, cannot but tend to weaken, rather than support,



support, this useful Ally of Civil Government. But for a Man, who believes Religion to have come, and in an extraordinary manner, from God, to be alarmed with the danger of *experiments*, as if Truth would not bear to be seen on all Sides, is the most ridiculous of all panic terrors. Might we not reasonably ask such a one, How it comes to pass, that *Experiments*, which are of so sovereign use in the Knowledge of *Nature*, should be calculated to make such havoc in the Study of *Religion*? Are not Nature and Religion both the Offspring of God? Were not both given for human Contemplation? Have not both, (as proceeding from the dark Recesses of his Throne) their depths and obscurities? And doth not the unfolding the Mysteries of his *moral Government* tend equally, with the displaying the Secrets of his *natural*, to the advancement of his glory, and the happiness of Mankind?

In a word, Had *no experiments been made in Nature*, we had still slept in the shade, or been kept entangled in the barren and thorny paths of SCHOOL PHILOSOPHY; and had *no experiments been made in Religion*, we had  
had

had still kept blundering on in the dark and rugged Wilds of SCHOOL DIVINITY.

To conclude therefore, and in the words of our great Philosopher—"Let no man  
 " *upon a weak conceit of sobriety*, or an ill-  
 " *applied moderation*, think or maintain,  
 " that a man can search too far, or be too  
 " well studied in THE BOOK OF GOD'S WORD,  
 " or in the book of GOD'S WORKS; but  
 " rather let Men endeavour AN ENDLESS  
 " PROGRESS OR PROFICIENCE IN BOTH:  
 " only let them beware that they apply  
 " both to CHARITY, and not to swelling;  
 " to USE, and not to ostentation; and again,  
 " that they do not UNWISELY MINGLE OR  
 " CONFOUND THESE LEARNINGS TOGE-  
 " THER \*."

\* BACON, *Advancement of Learning*, lib. I.—Could we suppose the divinity of Bacon's Genius to have been such as that he foresaw the miserable havoc which a late Cabalistic Crew have made both of the works and word of God by this impure and unnatural mixture, we can hardly conceive words more expressive, or a warning more awakening, than what is here contained in this caution against all such blind Workers in dirt and darkness.



THE  
DIVINE LEGATION  
OF  
MOSES  
DEMONSTRATED.

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BOOK IX.

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CHAP. I.

**I** BEGAN this Work by an ARGUMENT (long since compleated) to prove that A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS was not taught by Moses ; but that, in its stead, *an equal or extraordinary Providence* was the Sanction of the LAW. And I now conclude it, with a corroboration of that ARGUMENT, by shewing, that *life and immortality was brought to light by the GOSPEL alone.*

From

From whence results this further Truth, That were MOSES and the PROPHETS the commissioned Servants of God, THEY COULD NOT, by their office, TEACH A FUTURE STATE; since it was ordained, and reserved for, the Ministry of JESUS.

Besides, What the LAW promised was to be obtained by WORKS. What the GOSPEL brought to light, under the name of Salvation, is to be procured by FAITH in a crucified Saviour and Redeemer. From these TRUTHS will arise another proof of the Divinity both of the LAW and the GOSPEL.

But as all this can be shewn no otherwise, than by a distinct and collective view of the whole of God's moral Dispensation to Man, commencing with ADAM and completed in JESUS CHRIST, I have made the NATURE AND GENIUS OF THE GOSPEL the subject of the Ninth and last Book of the DIVINE LEGATION.

Of the two immediately foregoing, namely the Seventh and Eighth Books, the first of them is employed in supporting the MAJOR and the MINOR propositions of the  
first

first Syllogism : by a continued history of the Religious Opinions of the Jewish People, on this matter, from the time of their earliest Prophets (who gave some dark intimations of a different dispensation), to the time of the *Maccabees*, when the Doctrine of a FUTURE STATE of rewards and punishments was become National.

The other, namely the Eighth Book, is employed in supporting the MAJOR and the MINOR propositions of the second Syllogism ; in which is considered the PERSONAL CHARACTER OF MOSES, and the GENIUS OF HIS LAW, so far forth as it concerns, or has a relation to *the Character of the LAW-GIVER.*

As the main Argument of all the foregoing Books, of THE NATURE AND GENIUS OF THE LAW, has been hitherto esteemed too Paradoxical ; the Argument of this last, concerning THE NATURE AND GENIUS OF THE GOSPEL, it is more than probable, may be condemned, and by the same men, as being too *Orthodoxical* : For I have, long since, observed, that a religious Notion is apt to change its nature in the estimation

of certain Divines, when it changes its Advocate.

Were I concerned with none but UNBELIEVERS, in this present Discourse, my only task, and a short one too, would be to prove the *reasonableness* of these which I hold to be the essential Doctrines of Christianity; for *Unbelievers* confess they are to be found in the *Gospel*, but deny them to be of divine Original, on account of the supposed absurdities which attend them; in the same manner that they have allowed the Doctrine of a *future state* not to be found in the LAW; and therefore denied that Dispensation to be given by God, because such an omission, they pretend, makes it unworthy of him. This, I say, had been a labour both short and easy, had I not to do, likewise, with a sort of BELIEVERS, who, as they held that the doctrine of a *future state* made part of the MOSAIC RELIGION, because they think the honour of the LAW requires that it should be found there; so, with the same spirit, they deny that the Doctrine of *Salvation in a Redeemer, by Faith alone*, makes a part of the CHRIS-

TIAN

**TIAN RELIGION**, because, they think, the honour of the **GOSPEL** requires that it should not be found there.

Enough hath been urged, in the course of the main Argument, against the *first* of these perversities : the *second* will detain us longer than such plain truths seem to require : because the attempt to shew the *reasonableness* of these which we call the essential Doctrines of Christianity, will be deemed immature, till we have established very clear and circumstantial evidence of their real existence in the **SYSTEM** : for laboured Discourses have been written to prove that **FAITH ALONE** includes **WORKS** ; and that **REDEMPTION**, according to the *Scripture doctrine* of it, excludes a **REDEEMER**.

I am therefore, first of all, to prove the **EXISTENCE** of these Doctrines ; and then, the **REASONABLENESS** of them. In doing which, I cannot but esteem it a *favourable circumstance*, if not a *happy omen*, that the very arguments employed to evince the *existence* of the Doctrines, do, at the same time, serve equally to shew the *reasonableness* of them.



A **JOVE PRINCIPIMUM** was the formulary of ancient Piety and Wisdom, which served to introduce what the Sage had to deliver, of more than ordinary importance, for the instruction of Mankind. But here, the very nature of our present Argument will, of necessity, lead us up to the **FIRST CAUSE**, the Author of all Being.

For, without beginning at the **CREATION**, our view of these things would be narrow and obscure; and human judgment not sufficiently informed to enable it to conclude, with any degree of certainty, concerning a **REVELATION**, which is the completion of one great Moral System, the principles of which were laid in the disobedience of our first Parents.

In this Inquiry, as in all that have gone before, *our desire is, not to be carried up and down with the Waves of uncertain Arguments*, (to use the words of a great Master of Reason,) *but rather positively to lead on the Minds of the simpler Sort, by plain and easy degrees, till* **THE VERY NATURE OF THE THING ITSELF DO MAKE MANIFEST WHAT IS TRUTH \***.

\* Hooker's Eccl. Polity.

Moses,

Moses, in the account he gives of the CREATION, expressly tells us, that MAN, or the human species, was the *Work* of the SIXTH DAY.—“ So God created Man in  
 “ his own Image ; in the Image of God  
 “ created he him ; MALE AND FEMALE  
 “ CREATED HE THEM. And God blessed  
 “ THEM, and God said unto THEM, be  
 “ fruitful and multiply and *replenish the*  
 “ *Earth*, and have Dominion over—every  
 “ living thing that moveth upon the Earth.  
 “ And God said, behold I have given you  
 “ every herb bearing seed which is upon  
 “ the face of the Earth, and *every Tree*, in  
 “ which is the fruit of a Tree yielding seed,  
 “ *to you it shall be for meat.*—And the even-  
 “ ing and the morning were the SIXTH  
 “ DAY \*.” Yet, because the formation of  
 WOMAN, from the side of MAN, was not  
*circumstantially* related till after the account  
 of God’s placing Man in PARADISE †, both  
 Jews and Christians ‡ have generally con-  
 curred

\* Gen. i. 27—31.

† Gen. ii. 8—21—22.

‡ Le Clerc says—l’Ecriture nous apprend formelle-  
 ment qu’Adam donna les noms aux animaux, entre lei-

curred in one Opinion, that ÈVE was not *created* till ADAM was put into possession of the Garden of Eden ; for they took it for granted, that Moses (though in a Moral or Religious history of the *Creation and Fall of Man*) had observed a Chronologic Order.

The very absurdity of this Opinion renders the mistake so apparent, that the Reader should not have been troubled with a formal confutation of it, did not the right stating of the fact (so inconsiderable, as on first sight it may be thought,) serve to confirm a Truth, which hath been generally overlooked, though of the utmost importance towards our obtaining a just idea of *Revealed Religion* ; as will be seen in the course of this inquiry.

quels, il n'en trouvoit aucun pour l'assister ; *apres quoi Dieu CREA la Femme* de l'une des côtés de l'Homme. *Sentimens de quelques Theol.* p. 423.—Dr. Z. Pearce, in his notes on Milton against Bentley, p. 233 And Hooker, in his Eccl. Pol. Book V. Sect 73. *Woman was even in her first Estate framed by nature not only AFTER IN TIME, but inferior in excellencies.*

1. First, therefore, let it be observed, that *Eve* could not be created in the *Garden*; since we are expressly told, that she was created along with *Adam*, some time before, namely, on the *sixth day*.—*Male and female created he them*.—A declaration so decisive, that the Rabbins, who will needs have *Eve* compleatly formed in *Paradise*, gathered from the Words—*Male and Female*, (used by the historian, where he speaks of the Creation of the *sixth Day*) that *Adam* was an *Androgune*, a double Animal, or *Man-Woman*, joined side to side\*; and that the operation of disjoining them

\* This Jewish interpretation of the text appears to have been very ancient; and to have come early to the knowledge of the Heathen-World. *Plato*, in his *Symposium*, brings in one *Aristophanes* saying, that the ancient nature of man was not as we find it at present, but very different. He was originally *Ανδρῶγυνος*, a *man-woman*.—This fancy affords occasion to a pretty Fable, perhaps of the Philosopher's own invention, that these *Ανδρῶγυνος* were a kind of double-animal, joined back to back. But that *Jupiter*, when he set them a-going in the World, slit every one of them, and then shuffling the separated parts well together, committed them to their fortune: and the employment of each of them

them was performed in the *Garden* ; where indeed Jesus tells us, not a *separation*, but a *closer union* commenced.

2. When Moses gives us the *Book of the generations of Adam*\*, he repeats what he had delivered before, that man was created male and female.—*Male and female created he them, AND CALLED THEIR NAME ADAM, IN THE DAY WHEN THEY WERE CREATED*†. Adam was the common name for man and woman ; and that name was given them when the *Male* was created ; consequently the *female* was created with him.

3. On the other hand, the same kind of reasoning which concludes, that the *Woman* was not created till after the *sixth day*, will conclude, that the *man* himself was not created till after that day : for, if we suppose the History of the Creation ob-

being to find out its partner, the business of life was an incessant search of every one for its *better half*, in order to be rejoined in a more commodious manner. This, says the Philosopher, is the true origin of *Love*.

\* Gen. v.

† Ver. 2.

serves

serves a strict chronologic Order, he was not created till after the *seventh day*: the sacred Writer, immediately after recording the WORK of the *six days* and the REST of the *seventh*, proceeds thus, *And the Lord formed man of the dust of the Ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul*\*. Then follows the story of his being put into Paradise—of his deep sleep—of the Woman formed from his side. If, to this argument, so similar in all its parts, it be replied, that the direct assertion of Man's creation on the *sixth day* is alone sufficient to prove that the after mention of his *formation from the dust of the Ground* is but a repetition of, with an addition to, the first account; by which alone the TIME of Man's creation is to be determined: if, I say, this be replied, I shall take the benefit of the Answer, in favour

\* Gen. ii. 7. *Philo*, misled by the common error, that a chronological order was observed in the history of the *Creation*, concluded that the *Adam*, created in the Image of God, Gen. i. 27. was a different man from him who was *formed of the dust of the Ground*, Gen. ii. 7.

of what I have assigned for the *time* of *Eve's* creation, where I consider the account of her *formation from the Rib*, just in the same light that the Objector sees Adam's formation *from the dust of the Ground*; that is to say, as a repetition only (with other circumstances added) of what the Historian had before told us, of Eve's creation on the *sixth day*, in these words—**MALE and FEMALE created be them\***.

But further, on a supposition of a Chronological Order in the relation, we shall be forced to conclude, not only that *Eve* was created in Paradise, but that she was not created till *AFTER the command was given not to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil*; for the *command* is found in the seventeenth verse of this Chapter, and her *formation from the Rib*, not till we come to the twenty-second verse: consequently the prohibition did not bind or affect Eve. Yet she tells the Serpent (and sure she did not pay him in his own coin) that this prohibition equally concerned both her and

\* Gen. i. 27.

Adam.—*WE may eat of the fruit of the trees of the Garden : but of the Tree which is in the midst of the Garden, God hath said, YE shall not eat of it* \*. And accordingly, sentence is pronounced by God upon *her* transgression, as well as upon *his* †.

5. But lastly, to cut the matter short, the Historian expressly tells us, that God *finished the work of creation in six days, and rested the seventh day from all his work which he had made* ‡. · *Eve*, therefore, must needs have been created with *Adam* on the SIXTH DAY.

Two points then, only remain to be considered.

1. Why *Moses* thought it expedient to give so very particular a relation of *Eve's formation from the Rib* ?

2. And why he did not chuse to relate this circumstance in the place where he mentions her *Creation on the sixth day* ?

1. The account of *Eve's formation from the Rib* was, without doubt, given, to inform us, that the UNION of the two Sexes,

\* Gen. iii. 2, 3.

† Gen. iii. 13—16.

‡ Gen. ii. 2.



for the propagation of their kind, was of a nature more noble and sublime than the *conforting* of other Animals, who were all equally bid, like *Man*, to *increase and multiply*. For as the Poet says,

“ Not Man alone, but all that roam the  
     “ Wood,  
 “ Or wing the Sky, or roll along the  
     “ flood,  
 “ Each loves itself, but not itself alone,  
 “ Each sex desires alike.——”

Thus far the common appetite impells ;  
 and Man and Beasts are equally subject to  
 this second Law of Earthly Beings. But,  
 from henceforth, it becomes, in MAN, a  
 very superior Passion.

——“ The Young dismiss’d, to wander  
     “ Earth or Air ;  
 “ There stops the Instinct, and there ends  
     “ the Care :  
 “ A longer care MAN’s helpless kind  
     “ demands :  
 “ That longer care contracts more last-  
     “ ing bands :

“ RE-

“ REFLEXION, REASON, still the ties  
“ improve ;  
“ At once extend the interest and the  
“ love.”

NOW as REVELATION was given us (amongst other purposes, more peculiar, indeed, and important) to support and strengthen the Operations of *Reflexion* and the Conclusions of *Reason*; what could better serve the general design, while these were improving for the good of the Offspring, than to instruct us in this closer relation between the Parents, which arose from a personal Union, prior to that of reciprocal fondness?

But the Historian still more expressly instructs us in the end for which he recorded *Eve's formation from the Rib*, where he makes Adam say, or rather says himself—*Therefore shall a Man leave his Father and his Mother, and shall cleave to his Wife; and they shall be one flesh*: alluding to what they originally were, before the separation of the *Rib*.

But the allusions of *Inspired Writers* go further (of which I have given many instances)

stances) than just to ornament the discourse with the elegance of the conceit. Their chief end is to support the particular *Truth* there inculcated. Thus it is in the Text we are now considering; it contains an instruction partly declarative, and partly perceptive.—In mere *Animals*, observant of the Command to *increase and multiply*, the Offspring, when enabled to provide for itself, is dismissed from the Parent's Wing, by an instinctive provision, which equally disposeth both to a Separation. But the REFLEXION and REASON bestowed upon *Man*, which engaged the Parent to a *longer care*, in protecting, and providing for, its Offspring, impresseth on the Offspring, in its turn, a tender sense of gratitude, and love towards the Parent, for the benefits received in that defenceless state; and naturally disposeth it to be attentive to the welfare of the Parent, when flattered by the glorious duty of returning an obligation. This might somewhat impede or run counter to the first great Command and blessing, which, in the infancy of the world, especially, required all possible encouragement: There-

Therefore, by the most divine address it is here directed, that we should suffer this tye to give place to one more important—*Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave to his Wife.*

2. With regard to the second point—Why Moses did not chuse to relate the Story of the *Rib*, where he mentions Eve's Creation, on the *sixth day*—This may be easily understood. The Story of the Woman's formation from the *Rib* is, as may be seen from the sequel of the story, of so much concern in domestic life, that we cannot conceive a fitter place for it than this, where we find it, in the Entrance upon the fatal effects of our first Parent's idle curiosity : from which Posterity might draw a Lesson of great importance, viz.—the mutual obligation incumbent on each Sex, when united, to watch over the other's conduct, equally with its own ; as nothing can affect the welfare of the one, in which the other will not be equally concerned ; each being destined to bear, together with his own, the other's share, whether of good or evil. The account, therefore, of  
*Eve's*

*Eve's formation* was, with much art and decorum, omitted in the place where the Chronologist would expect to find it; and postponed, till it could be delivered with the advantage of being made an introduction to the history of the FALL.

The best Historians have, in the same manner, created beauties from a well-contrived neglect of the order of time.

The next thing to be considered, after the Mosaic account of the CREATION of Man, is, what we are told concerning his SPECIFIC NATURE.

That he was of a nobler Kind than any other of the Animals brought, at the same time, into *Being*, abundantly appears from the LIKENESS in which he was *made*; and from the PREMINENCE which was given to him over the rest. “And God said, let  
“us make *Man* IN OUR IMAGE, after our  
“likeness; and let him have DOMINION  
“over the fish of the Sea, and over the  
“fowl of the Air, and over the Cattle, and  
“over all the Earth \*.”

\* Gen. ii. 24.

Now,

Now, in what did this *image* or *likeness* consist? Certainly not in Man's having an IMMATERIAL PART, since he had *this*, as the best Philosophy evinceth \*, in common with the whole animal Creation. And the Historian makes the *image*, or *likeness*, to consist in something peculiar to Man. Now, the only two things, peculiar to him, are his SHAPE and his REASON. None but an Anthropomorphite will say, that it was his *Shape*, which reflected this Image of his Creator. We must conclude therefore, that it was the faculty of REASON which made the resemblance.

But further, when God says, *let us make Man in our Image*, it is immediately subjoined—and *let him have dominion* over the whole brute Creation. Now, nothing but the faculty of *Reason* could invest man with this *Dominion*, DE FACTO, which was bestowed upon him, DE JURE.

Still further, we see *Dominion* was given him on account of this preeminence of being made in the image of God—*Let us make*

\* See note [A], at the end of this Book.

*man in our Image, and let him have Dominion*—But a *preeminence*, which qualified Man for *Dominion* over other Animals, could be nothing but REASON, which he had, and which they wanted ; whereas an immaterial principle, with which both were endowed, afforded no room for *preeminence* ; especially such a preeminence as qualified Man for Dominion.

But now, the substance in which the faculty of *Reason* resides, could not be a *material substance*, as this best Philosophy, we say, hath shewn\*. *Man*, therefore, must needs consist of an *immaterial Substance*, joined to a *material* ; or, in other words, he must be a compound of SOUL and BODY. And this seems to be intimated, and not obscurely neither, by the Words of the Text ; when it comes, in the *second Chapter*, to give a more distinct account of Man's Nature than hath been given in the preceding Chapter, where He is placed, according to the order of time,

\* See Clarke and Baxter, as represented in the note [A], above referred to.

in the new-framed System of Creation.—  
*The Lord God formed MAN of the DUST OF THE GROUND, and breathed into his nostrils THE BREATH OF LIFE, and Man became A LIVING SOUL* \*.

By the words—*the breath of life*, and a *living Soul*—which discriminate LIFE in man from LIFE in brutes, we are not to understand *immateriality* simply; since all animals, as we say, have this in common; but the CONTINUANCE of *life* after the separation of the compound, in virtue of Man's *rationality*; which making him responsible for his ACTIONS, may, according to the different parts in God's MORAL œconomy, require *that* separate existence.

But now, if it should be asked, Why this compleat exposition of Man's Nature was not given before, in the *first* mention of his Creation, but reserved for the *second*, two very important reasons may be assigned.

1. Had the Historian given it in the first account of Man's Creation, it would have had the appearance of distinguishing Man,

\* Gen. ii. 7.



in his natural or physical capacity, from other Animals; whereas, in this capacity, there is, in truth, no difference between them. Since the very argument which evinceth the *immateriality* of the *human* soul, evinceth the immateriality of the *brutal*. Yet, to have left no mark of distinction between them when there was one, had been a very faulty omission in the History of Religion. Moses, therefore, with admirable address, hath pointed out the difference, when he tells us, that *Man was created in the Image of God*\*, i. e. endowed with the faculty of REASON.

2. Secondly, the place, which points out this difference, is made to serve for an introduction to the History of *the free gift of immortality*. And a better cannot be conceived than that which teacheth us, that the *Subject*, on whom this gift was bestowed, is, by the *immateriality* of his physical Nature, capable of enjoying it; and, by the *freedom* of his reasonable Nature, accountable for the abuse of it. So much is

\* Gen. i. 27.

observed in honour of that exquisite knowledge with which the sacred Writer was endowed:

Having thus explained *Man's PHYSICAL* Nature, we come to the consideration of his *MORAL*; which, hitherto, we have but just hinted at, in shewing him to be responsible for his Actions. Now, as this *responsibility* is the great Principle on which all Religion, or rather the Sanction of Religion, is founded; and as it is of the utmost use in our enquiry concerning the true nature of the GOSPEL, to understand what Mode of Religion it was to which Adam became subject, when he first rose from the forming hand of his Creator; we must recollect what hath been said concerning the TIME of his Creation, which, we shall now see, will stand us in good stead to determine this important question.

1. For from thence it will appear, that the Man and Woman, the *Male and Female*, were not immediately, on their Creation, put into Paradise; but had a State and Condition upon Earth preceding that supernatural Establishment.

That this first State of Man in the world at large was not only prior to, but different from, his State in Paradise, the Sacred Writer clearly intimates : *God (says he) on the creation of Man (male and female) blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and REPLENISH THE EARTH, and subdue it \**.

But when, after they were put in possession of PARADISE, and the *gift of immortality* was there bestowed upon them, they were not (immediately at least) to *replenish the Earth* at large ; but to *replenish Paradise* only : from whence, as they increased, their Colonies, perhaps, might be sent out to inhabit for a time the other parts of the Earth (not, then, a vale of misery and *death*), before they *replenished* the Regions of the Blessed.

2. Again, at the Creation of the first Pair—*God said, Behold I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is UPON THE FACE OF THE EARTH ; and EVERY TREE in which is the seed of a Tree, yielding seed,*

\* Gen. i. 28.

TO YOU IT SHALL BE FOR MEAT \*. But when God put them into *Paradise*, he said, *Of every Tree in the Garden thou mayest freely eat ; but of the TREE of the Knowledge of good and evil, THOU SHALT NOT EAT OF IT †.*

Hence it appears that Adam and Eve had a MORAL STATE, or were engaged to some Religion, before their Paradisaical life commenced, and different from it ; for in the first, there was no restraint of food ; in the second, there was. Whether the *Religion*, to which they were first subject, was that we call NATURAL, as being the result and conclusion of that Reason with which, at our Creation, we were endowed ; or whether it was that we call REVEALED, or supernaturally taught by God, we can only learn from Scripture. And Scripture teacheth, even by its Silence, that it was NATURAL RELIGION to which the first Pair were subject, from their Creation to their entrance into Paradise.

For Scripture hath this advantage over human compositions, that it teacheth as

\* Gen. i. 29.

† Gen. ii. 16, 17.

precisely by what it doth not say, as by what it doth. In what concerns Religion, there is nothing, either in its silence or in its enunciation, that is ambiguous.

To give an instance, for the better illustration of the matter before us. SPEECH might be acquired *naturally*, as well as RELIGION. In this they agreed: In one thing they differed—Human Reason, which was able to instruct in both, teacheth *Religion*, or our duty to our Maker, and to each other, almost instantaneously: But *Speech*, in the same School, is learnt only by slow degrees. So that *Man* must have continued long in that brutal State, to which the rest of the Animal Creation were, from their very Nature, condemned. Yet it is hard to suppose, that the all-gracious Author of our Being would leave his Favorite Creature, Man, whom he had endowed with superior gifts and prerogatives above the rest, to struggle with this mute and distressful condition, from which, unaided reason could only, by slow degrees, in a length of time, set him free. But this uncertainty holy Scripture removes; by the information it hath given us, that God him-  
self,

self, and not human Reason, was our first Schoolmaster in the rudiments of Speech. The text says—*And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and BROUGHT THEM UNTO ADAM, TO SEE WHAT HE WOULD CALL THEM ; AND WHATSOEVER ADAM CALLED EVERY LIVING CREATURE, THAT WAS THE NAME THEREOF. AND ADAM GAVE NAMES TO ALL CATTLE —\*.* Here we have the most natural and familiar image of a Teacher and a learner ; where the abilities of the Scholar are *tried* before they are *assisted*. From this text, we likewise learn, that no more than the first rudiments of Speech were thus, in an extraordinary manner, imparted to Adam for his present and immediate use. He was assisted in affixing *names to sensible things*, with which he was to be perpetually conversant. And this was sufficient to put his *reasonable nature* in a train to advance itself above the torpid silence of the *brutal*. Thus far was man *taught of God*, But the further extent

\* GEN. ii. 19, 20.

and improvement of speech, particularly in its giving *names to more abstract ideas*, was left to man alone ; which *names*, as his necessities required, he would invent, and treasure up for use.

This difference, in the two acquirements of *Speech* and *Religion*, both of which natural Reason was able to teach, but not with equal facility or speed, shews why God interfered in the one case, and why he did not interfere in the other ; and consequently why the Historian's *enunciation* was necessary in the first instance ; and why his SILENCE, in the second, was sufficient to give equal evidence to what was the truth.

*This* (which indeed concerns the subject in hand) appears still clearer from the following considerations :

1. The PENTATEUCH is a professed history of God's communication with, and extraordinary dispensations to, Man, from the placing him in PARADISE to the giving of the LAW. We have seen, that Man was subject to a *Religion*, prior to that *Will of God revealed* to him when he entered

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ed Paradise. Now, were the State, under which he lived before the Paradisaical, the State of *revealed Religion*, the Nature of the Mosaic history required that some account should have been given of it. But no account is given. We conclude, therefore, that Man, on his Creation, came under the law of NATURAL RELIGION, or was, as the Apostle emphatically expresses it—a *Law unto himself*\*. On this supposition, we can easily account for the *Silence* of the Historian. His Theme was REVEALED RELIGION; and to preserve the memory of such a Dispensation, it was necessary that the various modes of it should be recorded. But the memory of *Natural Religion* was preserved by an earlier Recorder, REASON: who wrote it, and continues to write it, in the minds of all Men. Of this original Record, Moses hath given sufficient intimation, where, speaking of Man's nature, he tells, that it was created in the LIKENESS OF GOD: meaning (as hath been shewn) that Man was endowed with

\* Rom. ii. 14.



REASON. Now such a LIKENESS implies his knowledge of, and confessed subjection to, NATURAL LAW OR RELIGION.

2. But it is not only from the *Silence* of the Historian, as to what preceded Man's migration into Paradise, but likewise from what he expressly *tells us* followed on Man's situation there, that we conclude, he was from his creation to this time, under the guidance of the LAW OF NATURE only : For the REVEALED LAW of God to Man in Paradise, after bestowing upon him the *free gift* of immortality, consists but of one *positive Command*, as the condition of this accumulated blessing : a condition very different from any of those which *Natural Religion* requires to entitle Man to God's *favour* : This plainly implies, that Adam, by the Light of Reason, knew already the rest of God's Will, with which, as Moral Governor of the World, he had irradiated the breasts of all Men. Otherwise, had this light been so dim as to give no clear direction for his duty, we must conclude, that the all-gracious Creator would have expressly delivered to him a complete Code

or

or Digest of *Natural Law*, at the time when he enounced this *revealed Command* in Paradise. And that he did not give any such, the *Silence* of the Historian, in a work whose Nature would not dispense with such an omission, is a certain proof.

To sum up all in a word—Man's moral State, under the *revealed Will* of God, began on his admission into Paradise. From which truth it follows, that, from his Creation to that time, he was under the guidance of NATURAL RELIGION.

And here let me just make an observation (which it would be a fault to neglect, though it be but one of the numerous instances of divine art in this inspired Writer) concerning the different terms employed by him in defining *Man* as the subject of *Natural Religion*, from those he uses in defining him as the subject of the *Revealed*. In the first case, Man is characterised by that distinctive quality of his being made in the *likeness of God*\*, or being endowed with REASON; the faculty which denotes

\* Gen. i. 26.

him the subject of *Natural Religion* ; that Religion which teacheth the rewards and punishments of Heaven INDEFINITELY. In the second case, he is distinguished as a compound Being, made of *the dust of the earth, and the breath of life* \*, which marks him out for the adequate subject of that other Religion, denouncing *death* and *immortality* DEFINITELY.

To proceed.—This *natural State* of Man, antecedent to the *Paradisaical*, can never be too carefully kept in mind, nor too precisely explained ; since it is the very KEY, or CLEW, (as we shall find in the progress of this work) which is to open to us, and to lead us through, all the recesses and intimacies of the *last, and compleated, Dispensation* of God to Man ; a Dispensation long become intricate and perplexed, by men's neglecting to distinguish these two States or Conditions ; which, as we say, if not constantly kept in mind, the GOSPEL can neither be well understood nor reasonably supported.

\* Gen. ii. 7.

So terribly mistaken have those good Men been, who imagined, that the best way of serving the cause of *Revelation* was to deny the very being and existence of *Natural Religion*.

But if some have allowed too little to *this Religion*, there are others, and those no declared enemies of *Revelation*, who have ascribed a great deal too much to it. Systems which, however different, are yet alike injurious to the great Truth they profess to defend.

The one, by annihilating *Natural Religion*, cuts away the ground and foundation of CHRISTIANITY; the other, by giving to *Natural Religion* certain Doctrines of Perfection, to which it doth not pretend, overturns the *Superstructure*.

Having thus shewn that Man lived, at first, under the guidance of *Natural Religion*; let us now consider more precisely, but with all possible brevity, What this Religion is, and what it teacheth.

If my ideas, whether innate or acquired, do not mislead me, the whole of it may be comprised in this—"That Man, endowed with

with REASON and FREEDOM OF WILL, is a Moral Agent, and accountable for his Conduct to his Maker; who hath given him, for his rule of Life, a LAW, discoverable by the one Faculty, and rendered practicable by the other.—That the faithful Observers of this LAW God will reward, and the wilful Transgressors of it he will punish; but that, on repentance and amendment, he will pardon, and be reconciled to, Offenders.”

This SANCTION of *Natural Religion*, evident as it is, hath been brought into question, and disputed, not only by those who reject our idea of such a moral System, but by those who contend for it.

The *first* have said, that we know so little of God's government of the universe, that it is hazardous to affirm, that Man hath any claim at all to Reward. The *other*, that it is still more hazardous to affirm, that REPENTANCE will certainly restore bad Men to the benefit of this Claim, if, before their transgression, they had any such.

Yet the Truths (thus boldly brought in question) are founded on this clear Principle,

ple, "That, taking in the whole of a good Man's existence, God will bestow upon him more of happiness than of misery." To deny this, will tend to confound our distinct ideas of a good and of an evil Governor of the World. Nor are these truths, thus founded, at all shaken by *our ignorance* of God's government of the universe. I apprehend, that the supposed force of the objection ariseth from Men's not rightly distinguishing between God's **PHYSICAL** and **MORAL** Government; nor seeing how the consequences of that distinction directs our judgment to decide of the evidence in religious matters, and particularly of the force of this objection. I will not here repeat my reasoning on this subject, which the reader may find already delivered in the 20th and following pages of the *Introduction*, and will see repeated, occasionally, hereafter. In behalf of these repetitions, had I added one more, on the present occasion, I should have no need to apologize: for as often as an old argument supports a Truth, newly attacked, the use of that argument, on such an occasion, cannot be called a repetition

repetition of it, but a different application of it to a new question. And every different application will give additional credit to the solidity of the argument, when it is seen how many various purposes it may be made to serve, and how many various Truths it is fitted to illustrate. This is one of those FRUITFUL ARGUMENTS, frequently to be met with in this Work, which I have enforced again and again, in the support of *some new Truth*; and which, I make no doubt, a less attentive Reader has as often condemned for *a repetition of the same thing*.

From this Argument, so referred to, as it lies in the *Introduction*, we may safely conclude, that *a good man hath a claim to reward*: And this, I think, Religionists, consulting no more than their natural ideas, have generally agreed in; and yet have generally concurred to deny that other part of the proposition (though it stand upon the same Principle) which teacheth, that God will re-establish the repentant Sinner in his original claim to divine favour.

This may seem unaccountable; but there is a secret in it, which will deserve to be explained, for more reasons than one; but at present, principally for the sake of removing this difficulty.

The truth is, those Divines, who doubted of this *re-establishment*, laboured under a groundless apprehension, that to allow the Doctrine of *reconciliation*, on *sincere repentance alone*, might tend to supersede the necessity of the *Christian Revelation*; which they erroneously supposed taught nothing concerning a future state but what was discoverable, and had been actually discovered, by the *light of Nature*: So that if natural Religion taught ONE means of *Reconciliation*, and *Revelation* taught ANOTHER, both could not be true. They, therefore, rejected that, as false, which *natural Religion* was said to teach. And modern Unbelievers being under the like delusion, viz. that *natural Religion and revealed* taught the same doctrine concerning a future state, reject, as false, that *means of reconciliation* which *Revelation* pretends to have discovered.



But we have bestowed our pains to little purpose, if, by this time, the attentive Reader doth not perceive, that the *Rewards*, taught by *natural Religion*, are very different in *kind*, as well as in *degree*, from those taught by the *Revealed*: However, if he hath not yet been sufficiently instructed in this important truth, the sequel of our Discourse, to which we are now hastening, will, we hope, give him entire satisfaction.

I had said, and on the Authority of St. Paul himself, that *natural Religion* taught, that *God is a Rewarder of them that diligently seek him* \*. Now, from his being a *Rewarder*, which springs from his nature and attributes, I have ventured to found Man's *claim to reward*.

But it may be asked, WHERE are those rewards to be expected, and of WHAT quality do they consist?

To the first part of the question, I reply—That, at what time soever God's Providence hath been dispensed EQUALLY to

\* Heb. xi. 6.

the Sons of Adam, living under the direction of *natural Law*, they could expect their reward only **HERE**. But, whenever they began to observe, that God's Providence was grown **UNEQUAL**, and that rewards and punishments were not regularly dispensed *here*, they would look to have the disorder rectified **HEREAFTER**. But of this, more as we proceed.

To the second part of the question, Of **WHAT** quality these rewards consist? I reply, We are taught to believe, they shall be abundant, as suited to that better state of existence to which they are reserved; and as bestowed by an all-bountiful Master, to whose more intimate presence they shall be admitted: yet still bearing some adequate proportion to Man's merit and desert.

If **REASON**, on the one hand, seems to revolt at the thoughts of *everlasting Punishment*; (for, as God is a Rewarder of the Good, we must conclude, the Apostle would have us infer, that he is a *Punisher* of the Bad; since this exercise of his power, over both Good and Bad, stands on the

same attributes of *Goodness* and *Justice*;) If REASON, I say, doth, on the one hand, seem to revolt at *everlasting Punishment*, we must confess, that FANCY, on the other, (even when full plumed by *Vanity*), hath scarce force enough to rise to the idea of *infinite rewards*. How the heart of Man came to conceive this to be an adequate retribution for his right conduct, during the short trial of his Virtue here, would be hard to tell, did we not know what Monsters PRIDE begot of old upon *Pagan Philosophy*; and how much greater still these latter ages have disclosed, by the long incubation of *School-divinity* upon *Folly*.

What hath been urged from natural reason, in support of this extravagant presumption, is so very slender, that it recoils as you inforce it. 1. First, you say, “that the SOUL, the subject of these eternal rewards, being *immaterial*, and so therefore unaffected by the causes which bring material things to an end, is, by its nature, fitted for eternal rewards.” This is an argument *ad ignorantiam*, and holds no farther—Because an *immaterial* Being is not sub-

subject to that mode of dissolution which affects *material* substances, you conclude it to be eternal. This is going too fast. There may be, and probably are, many natural causes, (unknown, indeed, to us,) whereby immaterial Beings come to an end. But if the nature of things cannot, yet certainly God can, put a period to such a Being, when it hath served the purpose of its Creation. Doth ANNIHILATION impeach that Wisdom and Goodness which was displayed when God brought it out of NOTHING ?

Other *immaterial* Beings there are (as hath been observed) who have the same natural security with man for their existence, of whose *eternity* we never dream ; I mean, the Souls of Brutes. But PRIDE, as the Poet observes, *calls God unjust* :

“ If MAN alone ingross not Heaven’s  
 “ high care ;  
 “ Alone made *perfect* here, IMMORTAL  
 “ there.”

Fanatics, indeed, both New and Old, have well provided for the proper eternity of

the human Soul, by making it a part or portion of the substance of God himself\*. But so blasphemous a fancy, all sober Christians, from the most early times to the present, have looked upon with horror.

However, let us (for argument's sake) allow the human Soul to be unperishable by nature, and secured in its existence by the unchangeable will of God: and see what will follow from thence—An *infinite* Reward for Virtue, during one moment of its existence, because Reason discovers that, by the Law of Nature, some Reward is due? By no means—When God hath amply repaid us for the performance of our duty, will he be at a loss how to dispose of us for the long remainder of ETERNITY? May he not find new and endless employment for reasonable Creatures, to which, when properly discharged, new rewards, and in endless succession, will be assigned? Modest Reason seems to dictate this to the Followers of the *Law of Nature*. The flattering expedient of ETERNAL

\* See note [B], at the end of this Book.

REWARDS, for Virtue here, was invented in the simplicity of early speculation, after it had fairly brought men to conclude that the soul was *immaterial*.

2. A second Argument, from the conviction it carries with it, I would recommend to the care and protection of its Discoverers, the *Platonists* and *Poets*; namely, Men's LONGINGS AFTER IMMORTALITY, even in the *state of Nature*. These, say our Poetical Metaphysicians, and Metaphysical Poets, are a proof that we shall obtain what we long for; since natural appetites were not given in vain. The *foundation*, on which this argument stands, is not, it must be confessed, quite void of all plausibility. The general appetite for Good was indeed given by Nature, to aid us in the easier and speedier attainment of it. But in this consists the sophistry of the reasoning — Because the appetite for *Good* is essential in the constitution of every sensitive Being, it is concluded, that we shall obtain the GREATEST GOOD which the *Imagination* can form, for the object of its wishes. And, to call this visionary Operator, *Nature*, and

not *Fancy*, will scarce mend the matter, if the noble Philosopher \* did not vilify his species, when he said, that *She did not know how to keep a mean or measure* †. The Phænomenon is easily explained. The PASSIONS were given to excite our Activity in the pursuit of *Good*: and the violence of such of them, as drive most impetuously to their end, will be apt to transgress the *mean*. But there is another part as essential to our frame, which is REASON; and her office it is to keep the Passions within due bounds; then most apt to fly out, when pursued by that frightful Phantom, ANNIHILATION. And as the best security against this terror is the *pledge of immortality*, we are too much in haste to inquire of *Reason*, Whether, indeed, NATURAL RELIGION hath given us this security.

From all that hath been said, I would infer, that our appetites, or LONGINGS after good, were given us, not to lead the conclusions of *Reason*, but to be led by them, lest these LONGINGS should become extravagant.

\* Bacon.

† Modum tenere nescia est.

3. But the palmary argument is still behind. It is partly Physical, and partly Moral. "The merit of service (say these Men) increases in proportion to the excellence of that Being to whom our service is directed and becomes acceptable. An infinite Being, therefore, can dispense no rewards but what are infinite. And thus the Virtuous Man becomes intitled to immortality.

The misfortune is, that this reasoning holds equally on the side of the UNMERCIFUL DOCTORS, as they are called, who doom the Wicked to EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT. Indeed, were this the only discredit under which it labours, the *merciless Doctors* would hold themselves little concerned. But the truth is, the Argument from *infinity* proves just nothing. To make it of any force, both the Parties should be *infinite*. This inferior emanation of God's *Image*, MAN, should either be supremely good or supremely bad, a kind of Deity or Devil. But these Reasoners, in their attention to the *Divinity*, overlook the *Humanity*, which makes the  
decrease



decrease keep pace with the accumulation, till the rule of Logic, that *the conclusion follows the weaker part*, comes in, to end the dispute.

This view of things, which presents to us the reward, held out by the *Law of Nature*, clears up, at the same time, the more disputed question, 'concerning *the efficacy of repentance alone*, to reinstate us in God's FAVOUR ; and shews, that this doctrine of *Natural Religion* is very consistent with what *Revealed Religion* teacheth, concerning RECONCILIATION, on repentance : since the rewards, promised by each Religion, being totally different, they may reasonably, when forfeited, have different means appointed for their recovery. Hence it is, that, by the *first*, simple repentance, we say, is deemed sufficient ; and, by the latter, some ATONEMENT may be reasonably required, together with repentance.

On the whole of what has been said concerning *Natural Religion*, we see, That REASON reclaims against the pride of such of its votaries, who expect *eternal rewards*,  
when

when that Religion only promiseth very ample ones.

Come we now to the Condition of Man under REVEALED RELIGION. For God (as we must needs conclude) having tried Adam in the STATE OF NATURE, and approved of the good use he had made of his free-will under the direction of that light, advanced him to a superior station in *Paradise*. How LONG, before this remove, Man had continued subject to *Natural Religion* alone, we can only guess. But of this we may be assured, that it was some considerable time before the Garden of Eden could naturally be made fit for his reception. Since Moses, when he had concluded his History of the Creation, and of God's *rest* on, and *sanctification* of, the *seventh day* \*, proceeds to speak of the condition of this new world, in the following terms:—*And God created every living plant of the field, before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew; for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the Earth*†. Which seem

\* Gen. ii. 2, 3.

† Gen. ii. 4, 5.

plainly to intimate, that when the seeds of vegetables had been created on the *third day*, they were left to Nature, in its ordinary operations, to mature by Sun and showers: So that when, in course of time, Paradise was become capable of accommodating its inhabitants, they were transplanted thither. —“ And the Lord took the Man, and put  
“ him into the Garden of Eden—And the  
“ Lord God commanded the Man, saying,  
“ Of every Tree of the Garden thou mayest  
“ freely eat; but of the tree of the know-  
“ ledge of good and evil thou shalt not  
“ eat: for in the day that thou eatest there-  
“ of thou shalt surely die\*.” In this manner, was the first extraordinary revelation of God’s Will, or what we call REVEALED RELIGION, added to, or more properly built upon, the *Religion of Nature*; which continued to be the foundation of all God’s extraordinary Dispensations throughout the whole course of his moral Government of Man.

Well! Adam disobeyed the Command. He ate, and became (as he was first created)

\* Gen. ii. 15.

MORTAL,

**MORTAL.**—*And lest* (as the Historian says) *he should put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever\**, he is driven out of Paradise, and sent back again to his former State; the subject of *natural Religion*. And in this subjection he continued till the giving of the LAW.

From this account we learn, that, had Adam not disobeyed the Command, he would have lived for ever, exempt from the present condition of *mortality*; since this return to it was the penalty of his transgression.

And lest we should make a wrong inference from what we read, that *immortal life* was Man's *natural claim* from the time of his creation; and not a *free gift* bestowed upon him on his entrance into Paradise; the Historian tells us of the means employed to exclude him from the TREE OF LIFE, which conferred *immortality* on the Eater. The ideas which this language conveys are, indeed, *allegorical*; but they inform us of this, and of nothing but this, that *immor-*

\* Gen. iii. 22.

*tal life was a thing extraneous to our Nature* ; and not put into our paste or composition, when first fashioned by the forming hand of the Creator\*.

If it be asked, why Moses did not record this free gift of immortality, lost by the first Adam, in as open and clear terms as the second Adam proclaimed the *recovery* of it? the reason will be given, more at large, hereafter. At present, I shall just observe (though, perhaps, a little prematurely) that the several MESSENGERS of God's several *Revelations* had each his proper office to discharge. It was the office of JESUS to *bring life and immortality to light*, or to promulge the Doctrine of it in open day. It was MOSES's office to record the *loss*, and TO SUPPLY THE WANT OF IT †, in that Dispensation which was committed to his Charge. He could go no further than just to hint at a *recovery*, in covert and obscure expressions.

\* Gen. ii. 7. And the Lord formed man of the dust of the ground, &c. compared with Gen. iii. 19.

† See the Subject of the DIVINE LEGATION.

On these different and respective grounds then stood, and must for ever stand, NATURAL and REVEALED Religion.

The first teacheth an abundant *reward* for *virtue*; the other promised a *blessed immortality* on the observance of a *positive command*.

This distinction, carefully kept in mind, will reflect great lights upon both Religions. As, by the neglect of it, the *Mosaic* Dispensation hath lain, for many ages, involved in obscurities; and the *Christian* is become subject to inexplicable difficulties. This will be seen as we proceed.

At present let it suffice to observe,  
1. That this account of the Paradisaical State supports our Capital Assertion, that *Natural* Religion neither teacheth nor promiseth *eternal Rewards*. While it is supposed to do so, nothing can be conceived more discrediting of REVELATION; for it will force us to conclude, that God arbitrarily annexed *Salvation*, or eternal life, to one condition by the *Law of Grace*, and to another condition by the *Law of Nature*. This observation will have its  
4 weight

weight with those plain men, who allow, to the two connected Laws, the common privilege of explaining one another.

2. It enables us to see clearly into another reason, why the *condition of immortality* was the observance of a *positive command*; and not the performance of moral duty at large. For *immortal life* being a *free-gift* to which no man had a claim by nature, it might be given on whatever *condition* best pleased the Benefactor. And the observance of a *positive duty* was very fitly preferred to a *moral*; as it best marked out the nature of the benefit, which was of *grace* and not of *debt*.

3. But there is still another reason (arising from the moral order of things), why this *free gift*, if it were fit or necessary to be bestowed on *condition*, should rather be annexed to a *positive* than a *moral* duty. No one, I suppose, was ever so wild as to imagine, that had Adam not eaten of the FORBIDDEN FRUIT, he would have been intitled to *immortality*, unless he had likewise observed the dictates of the MORAL LAW, which *natural Religion* enjoins; the habitual  
7
violation

violation of which; unrepented of, every reflecting man sees, must have deprived him of *immortality*, as inevitably as the transgression of the *positive command*. The reason is evident. Man living under the *Law of Nature*, when the *free gift of immortality* was bestowed on him, his previous qualification to fit him for the acceptance of the free gift, must needs be *some reward*; or, in other words, his having a claim to *that REWARD* which *natural Religion* bestows. Now nothing but the observance of *moral duties* could intitle him to *some reward*. The consequence is, that the observance of moral duties was a condition *annexed by nature*, and appropriated to that *reward* which follows the favour of God in general; and so could not be made the condition of a *different* thing, viz. *the free gift of immortality*, which was founded in a prior capacity of *reward*; and this capacity acquired by the performance of moral duties.

These things give the curious observer such exalted ideas of divine Wisdom, in the order and course of God's Dispensations to Man, that (transported with the idea) I

H

have



have anticipated a *Truth*, which, though it be of present use to confirm what hath been already said concerning the separate states, and different genius of *Natural* and *Revealed* Religion, yet belongs more properly to another place ; where I shall employ it to remove a difficulty which hath so long *entangled*, that it hath at length *discredited* the most rational as well as essential Principle of Christianity.

In the mean time, we see, to how little purpose Divines have fatigued themselves, and others, to give a reason, Why a *positive* and not a *moral* duty was made the condition of *immortal life*. In the course of which enquiry, some have been so extravagant as to assert, that the sequestered state of the first Pair made the observance of a *moral duty* an improper condition to be annexed to this *free gift* ; seeing, in that state, opportunities were wanting to exercise them. But, if we divide moral duty, as is commonly done, into the three separate Branches, of *Divine*, *Personal*, and *Social*, we shall find that Adam had an equal occasion to practise the two first, as if sent into a World filled  
with

with Inhabitants ; and the most meritorious part of the third, as soon as ever he was blessed with *a Help meet for him* \*.

The truth is, the State of *Natural Religion*,<sup>1</sup> under which Adam lived till he was put into *Paradise*, unobserved by Divines ; and the mistaken ideas entertained of it, by them, when they had observed it, and distinguished it from the *Revealed*, betrayed them into these absurdities, and gave birth (as we shall see hereafter) to a thousand errors, which have obscured and deformed the glories of that last great and best Work in God's moral government, THE REDEMPTION OF MANKIND BY THE SACRIFICE OF HIS SON.

From the account here given, God's JUSTICE, with regard to the effects of Adam's transgression upon his Posterity, is fully declared. Adam fell, and forfeited the *free gift* of immortality—in *the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die* †. He returned to his former state in which he was created, subject to mortality ; *that death*

\* Gen. ii. 18.

† Gen. ii. 17.

which follows the separation of soul and body. It is astonishing that any *other death* should have been understood by those words \*, when the very *sentence of condemnation* itself confines us to the sense here given—*In the sweat of thy face* (says God) *shalt thou eat bread, till THOU RETURN UNTO THE GROUND : for out of it wast thou taken : for dust thou art, and UNTO DUST SHALT THOU RETURN †.*

In this State, Adam begot a *Posterity*, which naturally became sharers in his original condition of *Mortality ‡*. And, Were they injured in not being made partakers of a gift never bestowed upon them ? Absurd !

\* See note [C] at the end of this Book.

† Gen. iii. 19.

‡ “ By *death* (says Mr. Locke) some men understand, “ *endless torments in Hell-fire*.—But it seems a strange way “ of understanding a Law, (which requires the plainest “ and directest words), that by *death* should be meant, “ *eternal life in misery*. Can any one be supposed, by a “ Law, which says, *for felony thou shalt surely die*—not “ that he should lose his life, but be kept alive in perpetual and exquisite torments ? And would any one “ think himself fairly dealt with that was so used ?” Reasonableness of Christianity, Vol. II, p. 508.

They

They were left and continued in possession of all the Rights inherent in their original nature ; and would have had the benefit of the FREE GIFT, had not he, to whom it was given, and from whom they were descended, forfeited it before they came into Being \*. What *Physical* contagion they contracted at their birth, either of body or of mind, is of little use to enquire ; since, however Man came by his Malady, his cure is one and the same.

So good reason had St. Paul not to think he impeached the *Justice* of God, when he said, that DEATH *reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those who had NOT SINNED AFTER THE SIMILITUDE of Adam's transgression* †, i. e. over those who died before they came to the knowledge of good and evil. Now, as the *death*, here mentioned, could be only *Physical*, though total ; the *death* spoken of, in the same sentence, as

\* See what is said concerning the difference between the forfeiture of natural and adventitious Rights. Div. Leg. B. V. § 5.

† Rom. v. 14. See also note [D], at the end of this Book.

denounced on the rest of mankind, who had *sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression*, must, consequently, be Physical likewise.

Thus both infants and adults falling under the very letter of the sentence denounced on Adam, we see how God's justice is made apparent.

Another important truth emerges from this account of the FALL, viz. that this part of the Mosaic History is NO ALLEGORY, as hath been commonly imagined. The root of which conceit, as indeed of many other extravagances that have deformed the rational simplicity of the Christian Faith, hath been the confounding the distinct and different sanctions of *natural* and *revealed* Religion with one another. For Divines, as we said, having mistaken these sanctions to be the same, namely IMMORTALITY, they were led to conclude, though against the express words of the text, that Adam's transgression was a breach of some precept of the MORAL LAW, and, consequently, that the account which represented it as the violation of a *positive Command*,

*Command*, was an ALLEGORY : and being once got upon this fairy-ground, every man had it in his power to pursue, as he liked, the favourite Vision, which he himself had raised from an *Allegory* left unexplained by the sacred Writer. Numberless have been these monsters of the Imagination. But a late Allegorist of the history of the *Fall* hath so discredited the trade, by his absurd and abominable fancies, fit only to be told by himself\*, that were it not for the account which both believers and unbelievers find in this commodious method of evading difficulties, we might hope at length to get free of the dishonour of having so long abused a rational mode of information.

We have shewn what the last *believing* Writer hath invented, to render the abuse *odious* ; let us now see what the last *unbelieving* Writer hath offered to render the abuse *ridiculous*. He assures us, that the Scripture account of the FALL is a MERE

\* See the Memoirs of the Life of Mr. W. Whiston, Vol. I. p. 339.

**ALLEGORY**, in the manner of the eastern Fables, signifying that man was formed to a state of happiness and perfection, which he enjoyed as long as he continued innocent, but lost and forfeited it by following his lust and passions, in opposition to the will of his Creator; and became miserable as soon as he became a wilful and habitual sinner\*.

Here we see the learned Doctor throws aside his usual reserve, and preaches up rank **DEISM** without disguise; while he makes the **FALL** from, and **RESTORATION** to, life, as taught in the *Old and New Testament*, to be nothing more than an *Emblem* of the frail Condition of Man, to whom God had given the **LAW OF NATURE** for his only guide. On this principle he attacks Dr. Waterland's and Bishop Sherlock's explanations of the story of the **FALL**. But the force of his reasoning (as hath been the good fortune of most deistical Writers) springs not from the truth of his own notions, but from the futility of his Adver-

\* Dr. Middleton's Works, 4to. Vol. II. p. 131; and Vol. III. p. 199.

sary's.—“ Pray tell us,” (says the learned Doctor, with that vivacity which he never restrained, when he had his Adversary at advantage), “ What is it we Christians  
 “ are obliged to believe of it ? [the story  
 “ of the *Fall*.] Must we believe it to be  
 “ all an *Allegory* ? No. It is the allego-  
 “ rical interpretation that has drawn all  
 “ this clamour from me, of weakening the  
 “ authority of Moses and favouring infide-  
 “ lity. Must we believe it to be all *lite-*  
 “ *ral* ? No. We are not allowed to do  
 “ that, since there is certainly much *mys-*  
 “ *tery* in it. What then are we to do ?  
 “ Why we are to consider it as neither fact  
 “ nor fable ; neither literal nor allegorical ;  
 “ to interpret one sentence *literally*, the  
 “ next *allegorically* ; the third again *literally* ;  
 “ and so on to the end of the chapter ;  
 “ which, like the very Serpent it treats  
 “ of, is all over spotted and speckled ; here  
 “ with *letter*, there with *mystery* ; and some-  
 “ times, with a dash of both \*.”

\* See the Doctor's Defence of his Letter to Water-land.

This,



This, on a supposition (the truth of which, both the Deist and the Believer took for granted) that the Mosaic account of the FALL was an ALLEGORY, hath its weight. But none at all, on the supposition, whose truth I have endeavoured to evince, that the Mosaic account is a HISTORY OF FACT, and not, as the learned Doctor pretends, A MERE ALLEGORY; interlarded, indeed, as the ancient Histories of greatest weight have always been, with strong figurative expressions, as well *allegorical* as *metaphorical*. In such a kind of composition, the best rules of interpretation not only justify the rational Critic in understanding some expressions *literally* and others *allegorically*, but necessarily require his observance of this rule. To do what the learned Doctor requires of him—To stick throughout, either to the *letter* or the *figure*, would betray much ignorance of the genius of ancient literature. When Adam is said to have *eaten of forbidden fruit*, and *Israel to have committed whoredom*, Do these phrases (used by the same Historian in his History of the *Fall*, and afterwards

in the History of the Jewish *Defection*) make one more an ALLEGORY than the other? Are not both narratives of facts *figuratively* adorned? the first, to denote *Adam's transgression of a positive Command*; and the other, to signify *the defection of the Israelites into Idolatry*.

The cold raillery, therefore, of our learned Doctor, while he considers the Mo-  
saic Account of the FALL, *as neither fact nor fable, neither literal nor allegorical, but to be sometimes interpreted one way, sometimes another*——might, for his credit, have been spared; as informing us of nothing but his inattention to, or ignorance of, literary composition, as it was in its primeval state; early formed, and still continuing to exist, amongst People undisciplined by arts and polished manners.

The truth is, our Critic in his censure, and those learned Divines in their defence, have equally confounded two distinct Species of Writing with one another; that is to say, an ALLEGORY with a real HISTORY ornamented with metaphorical and allegoric colouring. The Divines, to serve their  
occa-

occasions, did it, either wittingly or inadvertently; and the learned Doctor, to serve his, either followed their example, or imitated their practice. These Divines had observed, that preceding Commentators on the Bible had, occasionally, in the narrative parts, *jumped from the literal to the allegoric sense, and so backward and forward to the end of the Chapter*, because they found, that where the language was full of *figurative* terms, it was reasonable and necessary so to do. Their error was, in supposing they might do the same, in what they believed to be an ALLEGORY. On the other hand; our Doctor saw the absurdity of this practice in an *Allegory*; but his error was, in supposing it to be equally absurd to do the same in a *figurative* narration of fact.

And what occasioned the common mistake of both parties was, their having (as we say) confounded these two species of Composition with one another; which they would never have done, had they but considered, that the end of an ALLEGORY is to *hide*, and the purpose of allegorical,  
that

that is figurative expressions, only to ornament.

But, as the History of the *Fall* is, in Dr. Middleton's sense, a MERE ALLEGORY, and as his MORAL of the *Fable* tends to reduce the whole Doctrine of the Gospel to MERE DEISM; I shall now endeavour to shew, from the *very genius of Antiquity*, that *his Moral* is not of the nature of those which the most early times loved to disguise under that cover.

It is, in the learned Doctor's opinion, A MERE ALLEGORY, *in the manner of the eastern Fables, signifying, that Man was formed to a state of happiness and perfection; which he enjoyed as long as he continued innocent, but lost and forfeited it by following his lusts and passions, and so became miserable.*

The truth of his idea, of its being a MERE ALLEGORY, hath been examined already. But this is not the whole of his idea: It is, if you will believe him, *in the MANNER OF THE EASTERN FABLES.*

An observation that betrays his ignorance both of *Eastern Fables* and *Eastern Truths.*

*Truths.* The *Fables* of the Ancients, whether of the East or West, were invented, as I have shewn elsewhere, for this end, and for no other, namely, to hide from the People, under that cover, such *Truths* as were above the People's capacity to comprehend; or were judged inexpedient, for the sake of public utility, that they should know. This Veil, however, their Wise Men were able to penetrate; and so could benefit themselves of all the Truth conveyed under it; and the Public, of just so much as was judged expedient for them to be made acquainted with.

But what pretence is there to say, that either of these causes of concealment had any place in the MORAL, which the Doctor is pleased to tell us is conveyed under the *fable of the Fall*? The *Moral* contains a Truth of the utmost clearness, and most general use; whose publication could be of no possible disservice to Society, or be abused by one single individual in it.

On the other hand, if, instead of this MORAL, of a *simple lapse from innocence to guilt*, we believe that Jesus and his Apostles

tles have rightly interpreted the Mosaic account of the FALL, where they inform us of the specific nature of the loss which Adam sustained thereby ; and if, from the nature and course of God's Dispensations, we see the fitness of its remaining a *Mystery* for many ages, that *Mystery* which (the Apostle tells us) *was hid from ages and generations, but was at length made manifest to the Saints* \* ; if this, I say, were the case, then, indeed, though the Doctor's *Moral* required none of this Cover to his MERE ALLEGORY ; yet such a Cover very well suited the History of Moses ; and justified the interpretation of the Apostles.

Thus the POSITIVE COMMAND, whatever it specifically was, is contained in the words of *not eating of the Fruit of the tree of good and evil*—the TEMPTER, THE EVIL BEING, is shadowed under the *Serpent*—and the CONDEMNATION TO DEATH, by Adam's return to his first state of MORTALITY.

Having thus cleared the revealed Doctrine of the FALL from the absurdity of

\* Col. i, 26.

this deistical interpretation, I now go on with my Subject.

Man, having forfeited the *free gift of Immortality*, is driven out of *Paradise*, and returned back to the state and condition in which he was created, a Subject only of NATURAL RELIGION. With this difference, that, before his entrance into *Paradise*, he was altogether ignorant of the extent of his finite duration : on his expulsion from thence, he might learn, from the terms of his *Sentence*, that the execution of it, by DEATH, was at no great distance. — *In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground ; for out of it wast thou taken ; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return* \*.

But when we speak of the two Religions, *natural* and *revealed*, we must distinguish (in our use of the term, REVELATION) between a *System* of revealed Religion, and an occasional Communication of the divine Will to Man, for his conduct on particular points, or for his comfort in general, when the course of God's moral government re-

\* Gen. iii. 19.

quired that he should, from time to time, have intimations given to him, more or less obscurely, of the hidden purpose of Providence in his favour; and this, through various Dispensations, till, at the final completion of them, *life and immortality* should be again *brought to light* and restored. These occasional Communications began with that contained in the Sentence denounced on the *Serpent*, or the EVIL ONE, that *the Seed of the Woman should bruise his head; and that he should bruise its heel* \* : And ended with that given by the mouth of Jacob, that *the sceptre should not depart from Judah, nor a Lawgiver from between his feet, until SHILOH should come, to whom the gathering of the People should be* †.

What followed these occasional Communications was that SECOND SYSTEM of *Revealed Religion*, delivered to the Posterity of *Abraham*, by *Moses*, preparatory to the THIRD and last, under the Reign or rule of *Shiloh*, or JESUS CHRIST, which took in and embraced the whole Posterity of *Adam*.

\* Gen. iii. 15.

† Gen. xlix. 10.



So that, of *Revelations*, in the sense of REVEALED SYSTEMS of RELIGION, there were but THREE: the *first*, given to *Adam* when placed in *Paradise*; the *second*, to the Posterity of *Abraham*, when going (under the ministry of *Moses*) to possess the *promised Land*; and the *third*, promulgated to all Mankind, by *Jesus the Messiah*.

Ignorance, of this matter, made the Rabbins invent a fanciful *System of Revealed Religion*, as given to the *Sons of Noah*, under the name of the SEVEN PRECEPTS. —So that it seemed proper just to hint at this *distinction*; which, for want of attending to, hath been the occasion of much error and mistake.

We have now seen MAN under the two first States of God's Moral Government, the *natural* and the *revealed*; and how, by his misconduct in the *second*, he was returned back again to the *first*; in which he remained throughout the long interval from *Adam* to *Moses*; when, by this time, the NATURAL LAW was become so viciated, and obscured, that all memory of the LAW-

GIVER was lost and forgotten. So that the knowledge of the one true God, on which all *natural* as well as *revealed* Religion is founded, was, of necessity, to be REPUBLISHED to the world, by MOSES, when he entered on his Mission; who not only rekindled its extinguished flame, but, by the *Dispensation* committed to his care, in which the *first Cause* constantly and immediately directs all things, obviated the like misfortune for the future.

And as this Dispensation, called the LAW, being the prelude and preparation to the GOSPEL, whose Author was the promised MESSIAH, the Restorer of what was lost in Adam, could be only made intelligible by the previous knowledge of the *cause* and *nature* of that loss, therefore hath Moses studiously recorded that previous Knowledge.

And here it will be proper to observe, that had Jesus been only a MESSENGER sent from heaven, with no other purpose than to propagate a System of revealed Morals, or to *republick* the Law of Nature, we can see no reason why LIFE AND IM-

MORTALITY might not have been promulged by MOSES for the Sanction of the *Law*, as well as by JESUS CHRIST, who hath made it the peculiar Sanction of the *Gospel*: and so both Doctrines, that of the *true God*, and of *eternal life*, have come from Heaven together. The SOCINIANS, and they who deny a REDEMPTION by the *Atonement* of a REAL SACRIFICE *on the Cross*, would do well to re-consider this matter. But more of it in a fitter place.

To proceed. By the Penalty inflicted on Adam he (with all his Posterity) was again made *mortal*; that is, became EX-TINCT, at the natural dissolution of the union between Soul and Body.

But that *distribution* of reward and punishment, which God, under every mode of his Moral Government, makes, with supreme justice, either here in this world, or hereafter in another, was (when the sentence of DEATH was denounced on Man's transgression) at first made here in this world, so long as he continued to be favoured with the administration of an equal or extraordinary Providence. Which, as

we learn from the Mosaic History, continued from the FALL down to the time when Polytheism universally prevailed. For, when the World, by reason of the Vices and Corruptions of its Inhabitants, *did not like to retain God in their knowledge, but changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an Image made like to corruptible Man \**, that first dispensation of Providence was withdrawn.

Yet, as soon as God had selected a *chosen Race*, and had separated it from the rest of Mankind, *to place his name there*, we see, with astonishment, this *equal Providence* revive in Judea; for Man was still under the *Curse* or *doom of death*. And this existed till repeated Idolatries, the crime which first caused the *equal Providence* to be withdrawn from the Nations at large, did at length deprive the *chosen People*, likewise, of their share of this blessing.

And, by such time as they had invariably returned from their Apostacy to the pure worship of the *God of their Fathers*, the Course of God's moral government re-

\* Rom. i. 23—28.

quired, that the nature and genius of the GOSPEL (the Religion which compleated all the foregoing, and which, by the recovery of what was lost in Adam, made an *equal Providence* no longer necessary) was gradually revealed unto them. This, as we say, superseded the use, and prevented the return, of that *equal Providence*; which, otherwise, on their adherence to the God of Israel, and perseverance in his worship, they might naturally have expected. Nay, the full conviction of their recent loss, joined to the scattered lights in the later Prophets, together with other less legitimate helps, enabled them to gather and arrange their ideas in favour of a FUTURE STATE; as hath been shewn at large in the foregoing Books.

These *lights* Divine Providence, in its course, did indulge to them, till the *Sun of Righteousness* arose, lest the sudden splendour of his appearance should totally dazzle this blinded and devoted people; who, thus indulgently prepared and made fit to receive the Gospel, were, by their rejection of it, rendered totally without excuse.

These

These observations, the Reader sees, add further evidence to the Truths advanced in the former Books, concerning this EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE.

The course of my Argument, in those Books, led me to deduce an equal administration of Providence in the Jewish State, from the Nature of its THEOCRACY. My Subject here leads me to shew, from the general ORDER of God's Moral Government, that this *equal Providence* was administered in the world at large, while it retained the memory of the true God; and was again administered in the Land of Judea, when, by the Mission of Moses, the true God had there regained his rights.

All this, when carefully considered, will, amongst a variety of other reasoning, be one incontestible proof of the truth of REVEALED RELIGION. Here, in the MOSAIC, we find it so contrived, by divine Skill, that the peculiar Nature of that œconomy, under a THEOCRACY, should coincide with, and concur to support, that very dispensation of Providence which naturally arose from the punishment of the FALL. This

also will add strength and light to all my former reasoning, for the extension of this *extraordinary Providence* to PARTICULARS. For now it is seen, that this dispensation was not merely political and attendant on a *Theocracy*, where civil considerations often overlook the care of individuals; but it was a general dispensation of Religion, from the FALL to the time when idolatry overran the World: and was again administered when and where the knowledge and worship of the true God was restored.

“It is true (may an objector reply), that this *different* administration of Providence, between the faithful followers of the true God, and the careless apostates from his worship, did preserve the dignity due to God’s Moral Government; yet still this difference appears to be so great, that it looks like an impeachment of the divine Attributes, to confine this benefit to such only, *who liked to retain God in their knowledge*, while the rest of Mankind were left and abandoned to the evils consequent on an irregular and unequal administration of Providence.”

This

This objection would have weight, if those who were included under the Sentence passed on Adam should be irremissibly doomed to the short existence of this mortal life. But a secret **REPRIEVE** (kept hid, indeed, from the early world) passed along with the *Sentence of Condemnation*. So that they who never received their due in *this* World, would still be kept in existence till they had received it in the *next*: such being, in no other sense, sufferers by the administration of an unequal Providence, than in being ignorant of the reparation which attended them. For we learn, from sacred Writ (what the principles of natural Reason do not impeach) that the **DEATH** of Christ had a retrospect from the **FALL** of Adam; and that **REDEMPTION** was, from the first, amongst the principal Ingredients in God's Moral Government of Man.

Now, if the *goodness* of God thus provided for human *redemption*, that *goodness*, joined to his *justice*, would make the *redemption* as extensive as the forfeiture. But, in case a *retrospect* did not take place, it would not be thus extensive. More words  
would



would only obscure a truth, which the sacred text hath rendered so plain and clear.

*Ye were redeemed* (says St. Peter) *with the precious blood of Christ, FOREORDAINED from the foundation of the World, but was MANIFEST in these last times for you* \*. St. John explains, from the words of Jesus himself, what is to be understood by his being *fore-ordained*, viz. That it was receiving the glory which accompanies the entrance on an high office—*And now, O Father, GLORIFY me, with the GLORY which I had with thee before the World was. I have MANIFESTED thy name unto the men which thou gavest me out of the World* †.

St. Peter, in the words above, distinguisheth between the *advent* of our *Redeemer*, and the *efficacy* of his death, in teaching us, that, though his **MANIFESTATION** was late, yet the virtue of his **FOREORDAINED Redemption** operated from the most early times. For it would be trifling to speak of a *pre-ordination*, which was not to be understood of a *pre-operation*; since those to whom the Apostle wrote well under-

\* 1 Peter i. 20.

† John xvii. 5, 6.

stood,

stood, from the Attributes of the Godhead, that all things *that were*, had been *pre-ordained*, in the simple sense of the word. The other sense, of a *pre-operation*, St. John more forcibly expresses, *by the Lamb SLAIN from the foundation of the World* \*.

But if the course of God's various Dispensations required, that this *Act of grace*, the REDEMPTION, should be *kept hid for Ages*, and never fully revealed till the *Advent* of his SON, it could not be otherwise, than that, in the *intermediate Dispensations*, Mankind must be still represented as suffering under the forfeiture of Adam; in Scripture language called, *lying under the curse*: Nor had such of Adam's Posterity any cause to complain that the REDEMPTION was kept hid from them, since it was an *Act of Grace*, and not of *Debt*, of which they would finally, and in due time, have the benefit. In the interim, as hath been shewn above, the moral government of God, revealed to us in Scripture, was administered to them in such a manner, as, sooner or later, to proclaim its perfect equity.

\* Rev. xiii. 8. See also note [E], at the end of this Book.

## C H A P. II.

**I**N this manner did the FREE GIFT OF IMMORTALITY become forfeit, by Man's violating the CONDITION on which it was bestowed. For a GIFT is not the less *free* by having a *condition* annexed unto it; the quality of a *free gift* not arising from its being without *condition*, but from its being without a *claim of right*.

It is true, that a *Condition*, annexed to a *claim of right*, is of a different nature from *that* which the Governor of the world hath seen fit to annex to a *free gift*: the first ariseth out of the settled constitution of things; the second depends on arbitrary will and pleasure. Thus MORAL VIRTUE was the *condition* of that favour and protection which the *Creature*, Man, *claims* from his Maker; but the OBSERVANCE OF A POSITIVE COMMAND was the *condition* of the *free gift of immortality*.

Again,

Again, the *Law of Nature* informs us, that the *Condition*, which accompanies a *claim*, is, when unperformed, still capable of recovering its efficacy: the same *Law* likewise directs us to the *means*, namely, REPENTANCE. But the violated Condition, annexed to a *free gift*, is not thus recoverable.

The reason of this difference is apparent. God's Creatures have a claim to his favour and protection, whenever, and as often as, the breach of the *Condition* is repaired by sincere *repentance*; because the relation between the Creator and creature makes the *claim* indissoluble. But IMMORTALITY being a *free gift*, which gift that *relation* doth not naturally infer; when the condition, on which it was bestowed, is broken, the benefit is irrecoverably taken back. The consequence of which is, that if God, in his infinite goodness, shall be pleased to restore again that *free gift*, he may do it by what *means* he sees fit, as not being confined to *that* which his own establishment hath prescribed, for the recovery of his *favour* and *protection* simply.

The *means*, therefore, of regaining the *free gift of immortality*, when God had graciously decreed that it should be regained, can be only known by REVELATION.

Another specific difference between the *Conditions* annexed to a *grace*, and to a *claim*, is this, that as the condition of the former is the observance of an *arbitrary Command*, this Command may not be the same (though still arbitrary, as annexed to a *free gift*) when that grace is *restored*, with what it was in the *first donation*. It was not the same; as we shall see when we come to speak of the *condition of life and immortality* again *brought to light*. Where we shall, at the same time, be enabled to see God's gracious purpose in the *Change*.

But here let us always keep in mind (which not to do will occasion much confusion in handling the subject of REDEMPTION), that the MEANS of recovering a benefit lost, and the CONDITION annexed to that benefit, when recovered, are two very distinct and different things. Both of  
which,

which, viz. of the MEANS and the CONDITION, we shall speak to in their Order.

And first of the MEANS ; and to Whom intrusted.

The MEANS employed in this great Work, the REDEMPTION OF MANKIND, human reason alone was not sufficient to discover.

It may, indeed, be collected from the Principles of *Natural Religion* (as we have more than once observed, and cannot do it too often) that God, on the sincere repentance of Offenders, will receive them again into favour, and render them capable of those rewards *naturally* attendant on right behaviour. But the case before us is very different. The benefit lost by Adam's transgression was *a free gift*, a matter of grace. Our restoration, therefore, to that benefit must needs be of *grace* likewise ; consequently, the *means* resided in the hidden counsels of the Bestower, and so not to be found in the promulged Digest of *Natural Law*.

He might have *restored* us, and certainly would, had he seen it best, on the common

mon terms on which *Natural Religion* assureth us he will receive returning Sinners to his favour; or he might, with equal justice, in perfecting the great work of *Redemption*, require MORE, namely, a MEDIATION, enforced by some kind of SATISFACTION. But what his good pleasure was herein, it was impossible for Human Reason to discover; whatever fitness that Reason may perceive in these MEANS, when revealed.

Indeed, had it been decent for fallen Man, aided only by the glimmering light of that indefinite promise, that he should some time or other be restored to his lost inheritance; had it been decent, I say, to indulge his conjectures concerning the Counsels of the Most High, he would have been apt to think that a MEDIATOR might be employed amongst the *means* used in this *Restoration*; since he is able to see the same fitness of such an interposition in matters of *grace*, as of *repentance alone* in matters of *right*. MEDIATION implying a confession, that the thing requested is merely of *grace*; to the obtaining of which,  
Man

Man doth no further co-operate than by his hopes and wishes.

How reasonable such a conclusion would have been we find by this, that the very MEANS, here supposed, have been, as we have said, in *fact*, used, and accepted by the God of our Salvation.—*For there is one God* (says St. Paul), *and one MEDIATOR between God and Man, the Man Jesus Christ* \*.—Jesus (says the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews) *is the MEDIATOR of a better Covenant, which was established upon better promises* †.

The modesty of *Reason* finds its account in Conclusions thus confirmed; and the Truth of *Scripture* receives light and strength from Conclusions thus made.

We are now to consider of the Person of this *Mediator*, and then enquire into the manner in which he discharged his *Mediation*.

The eternal Son of God, Jesus, the Messiah, was the Person appointed to this Office ‡. The time of his appearance was

\* 1 Tim. ii. 5.

† Heb. viii. 6.

‡ See note [F], at the end of this Book.



foretold by the Jewish Prophets : and the nearer they lived to that time, the clearer and fuller were their intimations concerning the Character and Fortunes of him, who was sent to REDEEM Israel, and to bring again to light that life and immortality which was lost by the transgression of Adam.

The manner in which he was to discharge his MEDIATION, is our next enquiry: whether he did it simply by INTERCEDING for the remission of the Forfeiture; or whether by SATISFYING, at the same time, for the Debt? is the Question. Now, as it rested in God's good pleasure, which of these he would accept, we must again have recourse to Scripture for information: where we find, that the *intercession* was by way of SATISFACTION for the Debt.

This *Satisfaction* is called in Scripture, REDEMPTION; a term taken from civil transactions amongst Men, where the things or persons *redeemed* were paid for, with a price. Hence St. Paul, speaking of our Redemption from the forfeiture of Adam,

Adam, expresseth it by this Periphrasis, *Ye are bought with a price* \*.

The *price* paid was the DEATH of the Son of God. *Christ died for the ungodly* †, says he. And again, *Christ died for our Sins* ‡—*he died for all* §—*to obtain salvation, our Lord Jesus Christ died for us* ||. On this account, and in allusion to the like transactions amongst Men, the Redeemer is called the LORD of those whom he redeemed—*For to this end* (says he) *Christ both died and rose and revived, that he might be the LORD both of the dead and living* \*\*.

And now let us proceed to the nature of that DEATH which had the efficacy of REDEMPTION.

1. First, it must be VOLUNTARY—*Hereby we perceive the love of God, because he laid down his life for us* ††, says St. John.—*I lay down my life for the Sheep* (saith Jesus himself) *no man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay*

\* 1 Cor. vi. 20.

† Rom. v. 6.

‡ 1 Cor. xv. 3.

§ 2 Cor. v. 14.

|| 1 Thess. v. 9, 10.

\*\* Rom. xiv. 9.

†† 1 Ep. John iii. 16.

*it down ; and I have power to take it again. This COMMANDMENT have I received of my Father* \*. Here he represents the *laying down his life* as a *power* bestowed, in consequence of a *Command* received. And this will lead us to consider,

2. The second requisite of a *voluntary* death efficacious of *redemption* ; which is, that it must be OFFERED UP, in consequence of pre-ordained *acceptance*, called, in the text, a *COMMAND*. And what is a religious *offering up* to God, but a *SACRIFICE* ?

In this sense (the proper sense of the word) the holy Scriptures expressly call the death of Christ a *SACRIFICE*. St. Paul speaking (as is his wont) in the Language of the *LAW* †, says—*Christ our Passover is*  
SACRI-

\* John x. 15—18.

† To this an objector may reply—if *St. Paul speaks in the Language of the Law*, why is not the word *Sacrifice* part of that language, as well as *Passover* ? And if so, says such a one, your argument from this text, in proof of a *real Sacrifice*, is enervated. To this I answer, the *language of the law* may extend to *names* without extending to *things*. It plainly does so, here. The word *Passover* is language peculiar to the *Law*: the word *SACRIFICE*, though the language of the *Law*, is not peculiar

SACRIFICED *for us* \*. The Writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who rarely speaks any other Language, says—*Christ needeth not daily, as those high Priests, to offer up SACRIFICE, first for his own sins, and then for the People's ; for this he did once when he OFFERED UP HIMSELF* †. Again—*Christ hath appeared to put away sin, by the SACRIFICE OF HIMSELF* ‡. And again—*He was once OFFERED to bear the sins of many* §.

But the virtue of *expiatory Sacrifices* consisted in procuring ATONEMENT, by some sort of SATISFACTION. And thus the expiatory Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross operated for our REDEMPTION.

One could hardly have thought it possible, that any Man, who had read the *Gospels*, with their best Interpreters, the Authors of the *Epistles*, should ever have entertained a doubt, WHETHER THE DEATH OF CHRIST WAS A REAL SACRIFICE ?

peculiar to it, but in use throughout the whole religious World to denote a *Rite*, common, at that time, to all Men.

\* 1 Cor. v. 7.

† Heb. vii. 27.

‡ Heb. ix. 26.

§ Heb. ix. 28.

But mistaken notions, concerning the *origin* and *nature* of this sacred Rite, have so obscured the *Rationale* of it, that the SOCINIANS, who boast to have interpreted Scripture on the severest and justest Laws of Logic and Criticism, have, in this instance, as well as in many others, deviated more from these Laws than the most licentious of the *Allegorists*, or the wildest of the *Spiritualizers*. Here, in their care to avoid an imaginary absurdity, they have fallen into a real one, and of the grossest kind, while they consider the *death of Christ* as nothing more than THE SEAL OF HIS MISSION. For, were this all, so bloody an Impression might have been well spared; since the *proper Seal of his Mission*, or the evidence of his being SENT, were MIRACLES performed and PROPHECIES fulfilled, His DYING, if it were only in support of what he taught, could be nothing more than the *seal of his integrity*.

But Ignorance of the ORIGIN AND NATURE OF SACRIFICE hath misled these our *Rationalists* into the gross and semipagan errors concerning the *Rite* itself. And therefore

fore it will be expedient to give (though it may prove a work of some length and labour) an enlarged History of this whole matter.

As SACRIFICE is almost coeval with the human Race : its nature and supposed effects depend on the knowledge of its *Original* ; which is only to be found in the notions, habits, and customs of the first mortals.

The PRINCIPLE advanced in the fourth Section of the fourth Book of this work, together with the reasoning on that *Principle* concerning the ANCIENT MODE OF CONVERSE BY ACTION IN AID OF WORDS, will lead us (so prolific is that Principle, in laying open the most secret treasures of 'Antiquity) to the true *rationale* of this widely extended, and as widely mistaken, *Rite of Sacrifice*. This will shew, how the common sentiments of our Nature would draw the first Men into this mode of worship, whether the SACRIFICE WAS EUCHARISTICAL, PROPITIATORY, or EXPIATORY. Under one or other of these Classes, I suppose, all sorts of *Sacrifice* may

be reasonably comprized. Though the Egyptians, we are told, extended the number to six hundred sixty and six. But their Sacrifices, like their Kings, were wantonly multiplied at pleasure, in defiance of time and truth, to fit the purpose of every fabling or designing Priest. For, the Sentiments which nature and reason excite in every pious breast towards the Author and Support of our Being, are simply these, *Gratitude* for good bestowed; *Application* to him for good sought or wanted; and *Repentance* for, and deprecation of, Crimes committed.

1. Gratitude gave birth to *Eucharistical Sacrifice*. And this duty was, in the most early times, discharged in EXPRESSIVE ACTION; the least equivocal of which was, the Offerer's bringing the first fruits of Pasturage or Agriculture, to that sequestered place, where the Deity used to be more solemnly invoked, at the stated times of religious Worship; and there, presenting them in homage, with a demeanour which spoke to this purpose—"I do hereby acknowledge thee, O my God! to be the  
" Author

“ Author and giver of all good : and do  
“ now, with humble gratitude, return my  
“ warmest thanks for these thy blessings,  
“ particularly bestowed upon me.”

Things, thus devoted, became, from thenceforth, sacred. And to prevent their *desecration*, the readiest way was to send them to the Table of the Priest, or to consume them in the fire of the Altar.

2. The PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE was *precatory*, to implore success to their labours, in order to procure and improve to their use these common blessings of Providence ; and *deprecatory*, to avert the evils due to the past abuse of such blessings. And in this species of Sacrifice, likewise, the oblation was so contrived as to be an *Action* equally expressive of an invocation for the continuance of God’s favour ; and for the remission of the Offerer’s transgressions.

3. But it is the third Sort, the EXPIATORY SACRIFICE, which, by reason of the horrid abuses it early underwent, hath obscured the whole face of things : yet the luciferous Principle here applied, to illustrate



trate this whole matter, shews EXPIATORY SACRIFICE to be in its nature as intelligible, and in practice as rational, as either of the other two. Here, instead of presenting the first fruits of agriculture and pasturage, in corn, wine, oil, and wool, as in the *eucharistical*, or a portion of what was to be sown or otherwise propagated, as in the *propitiatory*; some chosen Animal, precious to the repenting Criminal, who deprecates, or supposed to be obnoxious to the Deity, who is to be appeased, was offered up and slain at the Altar, in an Action, which, in all languages, when translated into words, speaks to this purpose, — “ I confess my  
 “ transgressions at thy footstool, O my God,  
 “ and, with the deepest contrition, implore  
 “ thy Pardon; confessing that I deserve  
 “ death for these my offences.”—The latter part of the Confession was more forcibly expressed by the *Action* of striking the devoted animal, and depriving it of life; which, when put into words, concluded in this manner—“ And I own that I myself  
 “ deserve the death which I now inflict  
 “ on this Animal.”

But here it will be proper to observe, that as crimes of a lighter complexion were atoned for, as well as deprecated in the *propitiatory Sacrifice*; so those of a deeper dye could be only blotted out by the *expiatory*. This frequently brought into both the slaughter, or at least, the consecration of a devoted animal, by an action which spoke alike in each; but louder in the *expiatory*; while in all the *three*, the *action of Sacrifice* still expressed a reasonable language.

But this system of Sacrifice, so well supported by what we know of plain and simple Nature, in its most early movements, is further realized by what Historians tell us was pronounced by the mouth of the Sacrificer himself; who frequently explained his own action by the words with which he accompanied it.

We learn from Antiquity, that when friendly or adverse States had entered into an alliance for mutual defence, or ended a war on mutual conditions, the League was solemnized by the two parties with the additional Sanction of a SACRIFICE, in its  
nature

nature chiefly partaking of that species we call *Propitiatory*; to implore a blessing on the transaction.

The Historian, Livy, hath recorded the Ceremonies in use, in these Sorts of Sacrifice; where, speaking of a Treaty concluded between the Roman and Alban People, on certain conditions mutually agreed upon, he tells us, that the Public person, on the part of Rome, whom we may call the *King at arms*, and who was the sacrificing Priest, when about to strike the Victim, thus invokes their common God, in an address to the Alban People, and their chief Heralds—“*Legibus deinde recitatis, Audi,*  
 “*inquit, Jupiter; audi Pater patratus Po-*  
 “*puli Albani; audi tu Populus Albanus;*  
 “*ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis Ta-*  
 “*bulis Cerave recitata sunt, sine dolo ma-*  
 “*lo, utique ea hic hodie rectissime intel-*  
 “*lecta sunt, illis Legibus Populus Roma-*  
 “*nus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit*  
 “*publico Consilio dolo malo, TU ILLO DIE,*  
 “*JUPITER, POPULUM ROMANUM SIC FE-*  
 “*RITO, UT EGO HUNC PORCUM HIC HODIE*  
 “*FERIAM TANTOQUE MAGIS FERITO*  
 “*quanto*

“ *quanto magis potes pollesque: Id ubi dixit,  
“ porcum saxo filice percussit \*.*”

Another Treaty concluded between Hannibal and his Army of multifarious *Adventurers* was, the same historian tells us, sanctified in the like manner. Just before the battle of Trebia, the General, encouraging his Followers, by all the usual excitements, to do their duty, concludes with a promise of the most magnificent spoils, as the reward of their valour. And then offering one of those *propitiatory* Sacrifices for himself and his army; the better to induce the various nations, of which it was composed, to confide in his word, and rest assured of his good faith, he held out a Lamb ready for the Altar, and then proceeded in the following manner—“ *Eaque  
“ ut rata scirent fore, Agnum læva manu,  
“ dextra filicem retinens, SI FALLERET,  
“ JOVEM CÆTEROSQUE PRECATUS DEOS  
“ ITA SE MACTARENT QUEMADMODUM  
“ IPSE AGNUM MACTASSET. Secundum  
“ precationem, Caput pecudis saxo elisit \*.*”

\* Liv. lib. xxi. c. 45.

We see the reason, why in these religious Acts, when made the Sanction of good faith, in public and civil conventions, the expressive *action* should be further ascertained by *Words*. It was necessary, in an affair of public and general importance, to give the utmost precision to the Act, by removing from it all doubtful or equivocal meaning.

Again, it is further worth our notice, that, although THE SPEAKING BY ACTION had (as we have shewn) its original in the defects and imperfections of early language; yet, even when those impediments to fuller information were in a good measure removed, still, partly from habit and custom, but principally from some advantages which this mode of converse had above the other, of speech, it was (as has been observed elsewhere) long kept up amongst People of simpler manners, especially in the more solemn transactions of life; of which those relating to religion were the chief: by reason, that *significative actions* make a stronger and more durable impression than *words*; as the Eye is a  
more

more certain and steady conveyance of intelligence than the Ear.

On the whole, the Reader now sees, that nothing could be more natural, intelligible, or rational, than *this mode of religious Worship*, as here explained.

Ignorance of all this, and inattention to the state and condition of ancient times, have divided *Believers* into two parties on this subject.

One of them holds, that the origin of Sacrifices was by *command from Heaven*; the other, that it sprung from *Superstition*, together with many the like absurd practices. The first call this religious Rite, *Mysterious*: and so give to *Heaven* what, in their opinion, *Reason* disclaims. *As to the origin of Sacrifices* (says a learned Divine), *it is extremely hard to conceive them to be a human Institution*; BECAUSE *we cannot give any tolerable account of the REASONS of them* \*. A more than tolerable, even a plain and clear *reason*, the Reader sees is now given. But men are always disposed to find in themselves a standard for the

\* Shuckford.

measure of all things. However, admit *Sacrifice* to be devoid of *Reason*; must things thus circumstanced, needs come from Heaven? As if nothing had ever entered into Religion that was of the growth of Superstition! What will be the consequence of thus accounting for what we do not understand, but the disposing men to think, that every religious Rite, though palpably absurd, yet, if fancifully *mysterious*, had that original?

Another argument, which this more orthodox Party urge for their Opinion, that Sacrifice must needs be heavenly-derived, is, perhaps, something more plausible, but equally inconclusive: It is the *very early use of Sacrifice*, which rises as high as the two Sons of Adam. And, indeed, our account of this *significative action* shews, that we can conceive no time, after the *Fall*, too early for its introduction amongst men, under the guidance and government of *natural Religion*, as these two Brothers certainly were: Besides, the defects of language, while in its early rudiments, necessarily occasioned this *mode* of intercourse  
between

between Man and his Maker. Yet, notwithstanding, Primæval use can never prove *Sacrifice* to have arisen from any other source than the light of *natural reason*. And if that be sufficient (as we have shewn it is), we must needs conclude that it arose from thence, when Scripture is silent concerning any other source. Especially since we find that this Scripture hath carefully recorded what *God* immediately, and not *nature*, taught to Adam and his Family. Now, concerning *Sacrifice*, there is not a single word which implies any such instruction. On the contrary, the manner in which the story is told leads us to conclude, that the Rite was first dictated by *natural reason*—*Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a Tiller of the ground. And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground, an offering unto the Lord. And Abel he brought of the firstling of his flock* \*.—And IN PROCESS OF TIME (says the Historian) IT CAME TO PASS, &c. words, which (in the sequel)

\* Gen. iv. 2.



not only acquaint us with the first Sacrificers, but in these, here quoted, strongly intimate, that the *Rite* was of human original. While, throughout the whole narrative, we find no mention of any prescribed mode of *Patriarchal Sacrifice*, though Moses is most minute in what concerns the prescribed Sacrifices of the LAW. Doth not this shew, that the first was a voluntary, uncommanded Worship, where the *mode* was left to the discretion of the Worshipper; and the latter a *prescribed* Rite, where every circumstance, in the celebration, was to be scrupulously observed?

Nor is this reasoning to be evaded by the confessed brevity of the sacred Historian. For had the Original of Sacrifice been prescribed and directly commanded by the Deity, Moses could never have omitted the express mention of that circumstance. The two capital Observances in the Jewish Ritual were the SABBATH and SACRIFICES.—To impress the highest reverence and veneration on the *Sabbath*, the Historian is careful to record its divine Original in these words—*Thus the Heavens and the Earth*  
*were*

*were finished, and all the Host of them. And on the seventh day, God ended his Work, which he had made: and he RESTED ON THE SEVENTH DAY from all his work which he had made: and GOD BLESSED THE SEVENTH DAY, AND SANCTIFIED IT: because that in it he had rested from all his Work, which God created and made* \*. Now, who can suppose, that, had SACRIFICE been of divine Original, Moses would have neglected to establish this truth, at the time that he recorded the other? Since it was of equal use, and of equal importance, with the other. I should have said of much greater: for the multifarious *Sacrifices* of the LAW had not only a reference to the *forfeiture* of Adam, but likewise prefigured our *Redemption* by Jesus Christ, as we shall shew hereafter.

The other mistaken extreme, arising from the same cause, namely, ignorance of the nature of Sacrifice, is amongst those Believers, who hold, that although Sacrifice became, at length, of *divine right*, yet, in its Origin, it was but a capricious

\* Gen. ii. 2, 3.

Ordinance of human invention; concerning which, no rational or philosophic account can be given; yet, having spread wide, and struck its roots deep into the fat and lumpish Soil of Superstition, it was suffered, by God, to occupy a place in the Mosaic Institution, in compliance with the prejudices of a perverse and barbarous People, to whom many other extraneous Rites (perhaps irrational, but certainly harmless) were indulged.

And now, to go on with our History of Sacrifice. This important Rite, first dictated by natural reason, did not long continue in its original integrity.

Of all the customs in use amongst Men, those respecting Religion are most liable to abuse. For the passions of HOPE and FEAR become then most inordinate when the Mind is taken up and occupied in the offices of divine Worship. At this season, the sobriety of common sense is often forced to give way to the extravagance of the imagination. And this more especially must have been the case in those early Ages, when undisciplined REASON was but just

projecting how to curb the irregular fallies of Enthusiasm.

Add to this, that SACRIFICE being a *Scenical* Rite, it was principally fitted to strike the Fancy ; which delighting in Paradox and Mystery, would riot in this enchanted ground, till it had lost sight of the simple meaning of a plain expressive action, first conceived for *use*, and continued out of *necessity*.

Under this state of delusion, *Eucharistical* and *propitiatory* Sacrifices were soon imagined to receive their chief value from the *costliness* of the offering ; and HECATOMBS were supposed more acceptable to Heaven, than purity of mind, adorned with gratitude, and humble reliance on the Deity,

Amidst these disorders, *Philosophers* and *Moralists* might, from time to time, cry out, and ask, as they did, but without being heard,

“ Dicite, Pontifices, in Sacro quid facit Aurum ?

“ Quin damus id Superis, de magna quod dare

“ lance

“ Non possit magni Messalæ lippa propago :

“ Compositum jus, fasque animi sanctosque re-

“ cessus

“ Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto?

“ Hæc cedo, ut admoveam Templis, et farre

“ litabo \*.”——

The world went on its Train; *and pomp of Sacrifice* was every where preferred to the *piety of the Offerer*.

But in *expiatory* Sacrifices, matters went still worse. For, in these, the passion of FEAR being predominant, strange enormities were soon superadded to the follies of the Worshipers.

In these, the offering of the slain animal began, first of all, to be vainly considered as a VICARIOUS ATONEMENT for the crimes of the Sacrificer.

Though, in the purity of the first Institution of Sacrifice, *striking* the devoted animal was an action naturally significative; which (as we said) when reduced to words, contained no more than this humble and contrite recognition—*I confess, O my God! that I deserve death for my transgressions*.

Modern Unbelievers, to get to their favourite point, which was to arraign the Mosaic Ritual for its *vicarious atonements*, have been very large in exposing this abuse

\* Pers. Satyr. II.

in the offices of *Pagan* or of *Natural* Religion, corrupted. "Right reason (say they) disclaims all such atonements ; and teaches, that to secure pardon for our offences against God, no more is required than humble confession before the throne of Grace, joined to a sincere purpose of amendment ; so that all the *Mosaic*, as well as *Pagan* Sacrifices, which went on the idea of a *vicarious atonement*, were merely human inventions of fraud or superstition."

But this charge against the *LAW* is founded either in ignorance or in ill faith. For though it may be true, that, by the *Law of Nature*, all *vicarious atonement* by Sacrifice is superfluous and absurd ; yet, by the *Law of Moses*, it was rendered just and rational ; for though this *Law* was founded, as all God's revelations are, on *natural Religion*, yet the *Law*, built thereupon, is conceived on the Principle of a *FREE GIFT*, long since forfeited by the breach of the Condition on which it was bestowed. This Principle, together with the *loss*, intimates the *recovery*. And further, in the institution of the *Rites of Sacrifice*, instructs us in the *means* employed for the recovery ; *means*

peculiar, and properly adapted, to the nature of a *free gift*.

We have already given, and shall further explain and justify, those *means* (namely, the VICARIOUS ATONEMENT, in the SACRIFICE ON THE CROSS, with its dependencies), on the grounds of Natural Reason and Religion.

To free, therefore, the *vicarious atonements*, in the Mosaic Sacrifices, from this Objection of our PHILOSOPHERS, it will be sufficient to observe these two things:

1. First, that the Mosaic Sacrifices were **TYPES** (and by both the Dispensations of the *Law* and *Gospel* declared to be so) of the great vicarious Sacrifice of the Cross: So that the justification of their use depends on their Prototype; whose conformity to right reason and equity will be shewn.

2. But then, in the second place, as these *Types* had a MORAL IMPORT \*, that is, bore a temporal sense likewise, having a relation

\* See these terms explained in the VIth Book of this Work, Vol. V. Sect. V.

to the peculiar benefits enjoyed under a THEOCRACY, and so, of consequence, were not *Types* merely and solely of things to come, and to be transacted in another System, it will be necessary, in order to their full justification against the objections of our adversaries, to shew, that the *peculiar* benefits given by the LAW were of the nature of a FREE GIFT, like that of *immortality*, which was first bestowed on, and soon after lost by Adam in *Paradise*, and recovered by Jesus Christ in the *Gospel*. Between which two Dispensations, the LAW *came in* (as an intermediate Revelation), and the benefits *peculiar* to the Law (namely extraordinary *temporal blessings*) were so far of the nature of the FREE GIFT of immortality (their prototype), as to make the MEANS of reconciliation for the violated condition, attendant on such a *Gift*, different from what is required for the transgressions which natural Religion condemns.

Thus have we put a fair end to this formidable objection, conceived in ignorance, and brought forth in iniquity.

But



But this is not all. The sacred Volume, which contains the Principles whereon *vicarious atonements* are justified, under the *Mosaic Law*, at the same time instructs us, that, by the **LAW OF NATURE**, a *vicarious atonement by sacrifice* is superstitious and absurd.

Moses, in pity of his People (whose idolatry, during his short absence, had so incensed the God of Israel, as to make it apprehended, by their Leader, that they would be totally abandoned, if not instantly destroyed), transported with the patriot passion, and misled by the Principles he had brought from Egypt, concerning **VICARIOUS DEVOTEMENTS**, thus addresses the Lord:—*Yet now, if thou wilt, forgive their sins: and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy Book which thou hast written.* To this the God of Israel replies (but on the principles of his own prior *Law*, the **LAW OF NATURE**; the *Ritual Law* being already planned, indeed, but not given and received),—**“WHOEVER HATH SINNED AGAINST ME, HIM will I blot out of my book \*.”** As much

\* **Exod. xxx. 32, 33.**

as to say, “ The *Law of Nature* allows not  
 “ of *vicarious atonements*; but ordains, that  
 “ the man who transgresseth shall himself  
 “ bear the punishment of his iniquity; a  
 “ punishment which no man deserves for  
 “ the faults of another, unless he be par-  
 “ taker of the guilt, by joining in the  
 “ transgression.”

But self-love, aided by superstition, made men seek for pardon of their own Sins in the sufferings of others. When God gave the *Law of Nature*, he did not permit his Creatures to change the means he had ordained for pardon and reconciliation. But when he ordained the *Mosaic Law*, by which many benefits of *mere grace*, as well as others of *Debt*, were bestowed, he might, for breaches in the condition annexed to those of *mere grace*, well and equitably make the terms of pardon *different* from those he had before established for breaches in the condition annexed to those of *Debt*.

Thus we see how REVELATION triumphs; while every attack upon it produceth, in some new discovery of the amazing Wisdom in the various parts of  
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the Dispensation, some further evidence of its Truth and Divinity. We have shewn with what superior sagacity, as well as indulgence, many harmless practices of Gentilism were introduced into the Mosaic Ritual. But to manifest to the World what use divine Wisdom can make even of the worst rubbish of Paganism, VICARIOUS SACRIFICES, condemned by the *Law of Nature*, as absurd and superstitious, it changed, when brought into the Mosaic Ritual, their very nature; and, in that revealed System, made them provisionary and reasonable.

And now, again, to proceed. A deep-rooted *Superstition* is always spreading wide and more wide. When men, thus labouring under this evil, had (in order to give themselves ease) gone so far as to indulge the fancy of a *vicarious Sacrifice*, it was natural for them, to think of enhancing so cheap an *atonement* by the cost and rarity of the *offering*. And, oppressed with their malady, they never rested till they had got to that which they conceived to be the most precious of all, A HUMAN SACRIFICE. Nay,  
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to accumulate the merit of the service by bringing it still nearer home, the madness did not cease to rage till it terminated in **INFANTICIDE**, or in offering up to their grim idols (instead of themselves) the **CHILDREN** of their bowels. We learn from *San- choniathon*, in that inestimable fragment of Antiquity, translated by *Philobiblius*, that what is here collected from the natural course of things, is realized by fact. *It was customary in ancient times (says the fragment) in great and public calamities, before things became incurable, for Princes and Magistrates to offer up in sacrifice to the avenging Demons, the dearest of their Offspring* \*. Under the fanatic fury of the high efficacy of this *atonement*, we need not wonder that the strongest instincts of Nature should be subdued, and even their very impressions effaced, in this horrid sacrifice, when we reflect that mere *civil custom*, to avoid only a probable, nay, but a possible, inconve-

\* Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 4. p. 158.—ἴθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιαῖς, ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς τῶν κινδύνων, αἰετὴ τῆς πάσης φθορᾶς τὸν ἡγαπημένον τῶν τέκνων τὰς κραδίῳτας ἢ πόδας ἢ ὄφθαλμοις, εἰς σφαγὴν ἐπιδίδονται λύτρως τοῖς τιμωροῖς δαίμοσι. καὶ ἐπειὶ οἱ δὲ οἱ δεικνύμενοι μυθικά.

nience,

nience, was, in those early times, of force enough to craze, even out of the best cultivated minds, the innate *love of Parents for their Children*, and to introduce a general practice of *exposing* them, at their birth, to almost inevitable destruction. What power then must this magic of custom acquire, when joined to dire Superstition, under the horror of approaching vengeance, to dispose the terrified Supplicant to offer up his own kind to avert it ; nay, to make all sure, his own offspring, not only with indifference, but with alacrity!

This seems to have been the true original of HUMAN SACRIFICE\* : An infernal practice, which soon overspread the World, barbarous and civil. For that LOVE and FEAR of God, implanted in our nature to improve and perfect HUMANITY, do, when become degenerate by fanatic and servile passions, make as speedy a progress in dishonouring and debasing it.

From this HISTORY of the origin, use, and abuse of SACRIFICE, thus delivered,

\* See note [G], at the end of this Book.

on the principles of Nature and Reason, and verified by Fact, I have deduced, and, with the fullest evidence, established the following truths.

1. First, That the mode of Religious Worship by SACRIFICE, is, in itself, A REASONABLE SERVICE.

2. Secondly, That Sacrifice for sin was a fit atonement, and reasonably required in the Dispensations both of *natural* and *revealed* Religion, as a proper means of reconciling sinful man to his offended Master.

3. Thirdly, That this species of it, which is most open to objection, the VICARIOUS SACRIFICE, is founded in Reason, when directed to the *Mosaic* and *Christian* Systems; how abusive and absurd soever, when practised in the offices of *Paganism*.

Nothing but *this history of Sacrifice* could lay open the way to these Truths: And nothing but these Truths could let us into the true System of GOSPEL REDEMPTION. For till it was shewn that a VICARIOUS ATONEMENT, a thing of the essence of this System, is consonant to our most rational ideas of the divine attributes; it might be thought,

by those who only saw the abuse, and were ignorant of the genuine use of *vicarious atonement*, that our proving the death of Christ to be a REAL SACRIFICE, was only adding one embarrass more in the road of *Revelation*, instead of removing (as was my intention) a great many that ignorance hath laid across it.

But having now obviated the SOCINIAN objection to this species of Sacrifice, we may proceed without further impediment to establish this capital Principle of the Christian Faith, THE SACRIFICE OF CHRIST ON THE CROSS FOR THE REDEMPTION OF MANKIND.

1. Which will be done, first of all, by shewing that the *precious death upon the Cross* was, for many ages, *prefigured*, and, in a scenical manner, *foretold* by the SACRIFICES OF THE LAW; and more particularly and circumstantially by those *Sacrifices* called PIACULAR and VICARIOUS.

2. And secondly, by shewing that this DEATH was kept in perpetual memory under the Christian Dispensation, by a SACRED RITE, instituted by the Divine Victim himself,

self, on his going to be offered; this *Rite* being (to speak properly) nothing but, nor other than, A FEAST UPON A SACRIFICE.

I. All Christian Churches, even the *Soci-nian*, agree in this, that the Sacrifices of the Jewish Law served; amongst other uses, for *YPES* of the *death of Christ*, particularly those Sacrifices called *vicarious*, *piacular*, and *expiatory*. Of which, some prefigured one part of that tremendous transaction, and some another.—The victim burnt without the Camp foretold his sufferings without the City—The blood sprinkled in the *Sanctum Sanctorum* by the High-priest, on the day of expiation, prefigured our entrance into Heaven, whither Christ prepared the way for us by his blood—The sacrifice of the Paschal-Lamb, which was both *piacular* and *eucharistical*, proclaimed the innocence of our Redeemer, and the universal benefit of his blood to Mankind.

To set this matter in the clearest light—As to the simple rite of SACRIFICE, this was not peculiar to Judaism. It was in use, as we have shewn, from the beginning.

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Nature



Nature dictated this Symbol to all her Children : It being nothing else than a species of Worship, in *action* instead of *words*; so that *sacrifice* and *religious worship* were correlative and coeval ideas. The particular thing which Moses indulged to his people, for the *hardness of their hearts*, was that *multifarious Ritual*, of which, indeed, Sacrifice makes a capital part.

Amongst the various causes of the *Mosaic Ritual*, the principal were these :

1. First, A necessity of complying with those inveterate prejudices (least liable to idolatrous abuse) which a long abode in Egypt had induced : amongst the chief was their attachment to *SACRIFICE* ; a species of divine worship, which, at this time, made almost the whole of Religion in the Egyptian world. These people (as hath been observed before) reckoning up six hundred and sixty-six sorts of *sacrifice*.

2. A second cause of the *Mosaic Ritual* was to debar the people from their too ready entrance to Idolatry, by keeping them continually occupied in the performance of their sacred Rites to the *GOD OF ISRAEL* ;

whose NAME, when lost in all other places, was, by their SEPARATION, to be preserved in the land of Judea, till *the fullness of time should come.*

3. A third was to PREFIGURE, by these Rites of Sacrifice, the DEATH OF CHRIST UPON THE CROSS: For the *Mosaic Religion* being the foundation of, and preparatory to, the *Christian*, it was fit and proper to connect these two parts of God's moral Dispensation, in such a manner that their mutual relation might, in a proper time, become evident to all men. For in two Religions related to each other, as the MEANS and the END, the FOUNDATION and the SUPERSTRUCTURE, nothing can be more conformable to our ideas of Divine Wisdom, than its contriving some ties which might establish the knowledge, and perpetuate the memory of that close relation, without immaturely explaining the particulars of it. Now what can be conceived more effectual for this purpose than to make the RITES of the *one Religion* TYPICAL, that is, declarative and expressive of the general nature of the other?

These various uses of SACRIFICE in the Mosaic Ritual cannot but raise our admiration of the divine Wisdom, which hath so contrived, that the very Worship indulged to the Israelites, in compassion to their childish prejudices, should not only prevent the abuses, the natural effect of those prejudices which led to idolatry, but, at the same time, should establish and proclaim, by means of their TYPICAL representations, a strong and lasting connection between the two Religions. *Representations* so apposite to this end and purpose, that all the sects and parties in Christianity, how widely soever they differ amongst themselves in other matters, agree in this, that *the sacrifices of the Law*, besides the other uses in the Mosaic institution, are TYPICAL OF THE DEATH OF CHRIST\*. So far, we say, all the Christian Churches, even the SOCINIAN, agree with us. In this, they differ; they pretend, that though the *Jewish Sacrifices* prefigured the death of Christ, as

\* See what hath been said of the logical and natural propriety of *Types* and *secondary Senses*, B. VI. § 6, of the Divine Legation.

*Types* of it, yet it does not follow that *his death* was a *real Sacrifice*, like the Jewish. On the contrary, we affirm, that this alone is sufficient to shew, that if the *Type* was a *real Sacrifice*, the Antitype must be so likewise. For (to enter a little more particularly into this mode of representation) a *TYPE* differs from a *SYMBOL* in this, that the *Type* represents something *future*; the *Symbol*, something *past* or *present*.—The commanded Sacrifice of Isaac was given for a *Type*; the Sacrifices of the *Law* were *Types*. The Images of the Cherubims over the Propitiatory were *Symbols*; the bread and wine in the last Supper were *Symbols*.

So far they agree in their *genus*, that they are equally *REPRESENTATIONS*; but in their *species*, they differ widely.

It is not required that the *Symbol* should partake of the *nature* of the thing represented: the Cherubims shadowed out the celerity of Angels, but not by any physical celerity of their own; the bread and wine shadowed out the body and blood of Christ, but not by any change in the Elements.

But *Types* being, on the contrary, representations of *things future*, and so partaking of the nature of *Prophecy*, were to convey information concerning the *nature* of the *Antitypes*, or of the things represented; which they could not do, but by the exhibition of their own nature.

Hence we collect, that the command to offer Isaac, being the command to offer a *real Sacrifice*, the death and sufferings of Christ, thereby represented, was a *real Sacrifice*. And the piacular and vicarious Sacrifices of the LAW being *real Sacrifices*, the Death on the Cross was a *real Sacrifice* likewise.

Were this otherwise, the *Type*, as a *Type*, would contain more than was contained in the *antitype*. An absurdity, which makes the *Shadow* convey more than the *Substance*; when, by its very nature, it should convey less. On this Truth, the reasoning in the Epistle to the Hebrews is founded.—  
 “ Christ (says the Apostolic Writer) was  
 “ once *offered* to bear the sins of many.  
 “ For the *Law* having the SHADOW of  
 “ good things to come, and not the VERY  
 “ IMAGE

“IMAGE of the things, can never with  
 “those *Sacrifices*, which they offered, year  
 “by year, continually, make the comers  
 “thereunto perfect : for then would they  
 “have ceased to be offered \*.”

The Jewish Sacrifices are here called SHADOWS, not in an absolute, but in a comparative sense. The *Type* is inferior to the *Antitype*, just as, in visible things, a natural *shadow* is to an artificial *image*. For the *Typical* Sacrifices of the *Law*, having, besides their property of *Types*, a MORAL IMPORT, (and not like the *Typical* Sacrifice commanded to be offered by Abraham, *a mere shadow, without any moral import*,) are called *Shadows*, not in opposition to realities (for having a *moral import*, they are *realities*); but called *Shadows*, only in comparison to the vast disparity between the virtues of the *Types* and the *Antitype*, thus explained and enforced by the same inspired Writer—“For if the blood of  
 “bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an

\* Heb. ix. 28. x. 1, 2. See B. VI. § 6. of the Divine Legation.

“ heifer, sprinkling the unclean, sancti-  
 “ fieth to the *purifying of the flesh*, how  
 “ MUCH MORE shall the blood of Christ,  
 “ who *offered* himself without spot to God,  
 “ *purge your conscience* from dead works to  
 “ serve the living God \* ?”

Again ; though, from hence, it appears that these *Types* with the *Antitype* are occupied in the elucidation of the same great subject, yet it will not follow, that every several *Type* is equally expressive of the *Antitype*. Some of them shall present a more perfect image of the *Antitype* than others ; yet they do not exclude the most imperfect from a share in the honour of so august a representation. For though the divine Author of the System had ordained, that the whole of the Jewish Ritual, concerning Sacrifices, should *typify* or prefigure the great SACRIFICE OF CHRIST ; yet as those *Sacrifices*, at the same time, constituted an essential part of the Mosaic Economy, which, on several occasions, I have expressed more generally by the terms of

\* Heb. ix. 13, 14.

their bearing a MORAL IMPORT, it could not but be that some would carry *fainter*, and others *stronger*, *shadows* or *images* of what as *Types* they represented; just as the various Jewish service, in its moral nature, afforded more or less occasions of evidence. Thus, the *Type* of the *Paschal-Lamb* was a more perfect representation, than the *Type* of the *Victim burnt without the Camp*.

It might, and probably would have been otherwise, had these *Types* borne *no moral import*, like the command to offer Isaac, for then nothing could have hindered all the *Types* from being as complete representations of the *Antitype* as that *command to Abraham* was; and if nothing hindered, it is reasonable to suppose, it would have been done.

We have observed, that these *Types*, in the Mosaic Ritual, were a kind of *Prophecy by action*; in which Providence was pleased to manifest to the world, the real connexion between the Jewish and the Christian Revelations. But this was not all. The other sort of Prophecy was not wanting, which, by way of eminence, has  
com-



commonly assumed the *name*, viz. The written Predictions of the Jewish Prophets. Where, in a detailed account of the PROMISED MESSIAH, the principal part relates to his death and sufferings on the cross, under the idea of a SACRIFICE. And if, as hath been pretended, these things relate to *Jesus* only in a *secondary sense*, and to the Jewish Leaders in a *primary*; this would only make the analogy between these two kinds of Prediction more complete, and the connexion between the two Religions more strong and durable. For the Jewish Sacrifices, though as *types* they refer *ultimately* to Christ, yet as a religious service not typical, they had, like Prophecy, a prior reference to the LAW. So admirable is this coincidence between these two sorts of *prediction*. As to the logical and moral fitness of SECONDARY SENSES, I have explained that matter at large in the former parts of this work \*.

Hitherto in support of the Doctrine of the GREAT SACRIFICE ON THE CROSS.

\* See Book VI. Sect. 6.

And

And this alone seems abundantly sufficient to establish it.

But this is not the whole. It was not only FORETOLD by the Types and other Prophecies of the *old Law*, but the Remembrance of it was PERPETUATED by a divine Institution in the *new*: and an explanation of this Rite is the last step we shall take to fix this fundamental Article of our holy Faith.

In those Ages of the World \*, when Victims made a principal part of the Religion both of Jews and Gentiles, the *Sacrifice* was commonly followed by a religious Feast on the thing offered, called a *Feast upon, or after, the Sacrifice*; the partakers of which were supposed to become partakers of the BENEFITS of the Sacrifice. In allusion to this custom, Jesus was pleased to institute a Feast of the same kind.—In order of time, indeed, the *Feast* naturally *followed* the *Sacrifice*. But in this great Atonement, where the VICTIM, the OFFERER,

\* See the Discourse on the Nature and End of the Lord's Supper, R. W.

and the PRIEST, were all one and the same Person, the *Feast* was, of necessity, to *precede* the Sacrifice.

The history of this institution is recorded, by the Evangelists, in these words :—  
 “ And as they were eating, Jesus took  
 “ bread and blessed it, and gave it to his  
 “ disciples, and said, Take, eat, THIS IS  
 “ MY BODY : and he took the cup, and  
 “ gave thanks, and gave it to them, say-  
 “ ing, Drink ye all of it; for THIS IS MY  
 “ BLOOD of the New Testament, which  
 “ is shed for many, for the remission of  
 “ sins \*.”

Now, to manifest that we are not mistaken in the idea here given of this Rite, let us reflect on the precise time of its celebration.

As Jesus, with his Disciples, (says the text), was concluding the Paschal Supper, which was a Jewish *Feast after the Sacrifice*, his own approaching Sacrifice naturally suggested to him the idea of this *customary Feast*. But being himself both the

\* Matt. xxvi. 26, &c.

*Victim* and the *Offerer*, the Institution of this Rite must of necessity, as we observed, *precede* the *Sacrifice*—The *Sacrifice on the Cross* was the *Antitype* of the *Paschal-Lamb*; and the *Feast* on Christ's Sacrifice was the *Antitype* of the Paschal-feast. So that the properest season we can conceive for the institution of the *last supper*, was the instant of time between the celebration of the *type*, and the offering of the *Antitype*. This time likewise corresponded with Christ's usual practice, who was wont to deliver his instructions by actions and expressions, bearing allusion to what passed before his eyes, or presented itself, in the natural course of things, to his observation \*. These considerations shew, that the *action*, in the celebration of this Rite, was so strongly declarative of its nature, that had Jesus only

\* See Sir Isaac Newton's *Observations on the Prophecies*, p. 148; where he takes notice how Jesus, from the approach of harvest—from the lilies in bloom—from the leaves of the fig-trees shot out—from the sheep kept in folds near the temple for sacrifice—was accustomed to take occasion of inculcating his spiritual Doctrines and Precepts. †

broken the bread and given the cup *in remembrance of himself*, without adding, *this is my body* and *this is my blood*, no ingenuous Hearer could entertain a doubt, whether this was designed by him as a *Feast upon the Sacrifice*. But when to this we add the remaining part of the explanatory words, in the consecration of the Elements — **THIS IS MY BODY — THIS IS MY BLOOD —** what is here contended for becomes almost self-evident.

In these *feasts upon Sacrifice*, the very *body* that had been offered was eaten for the repast. Now, as the *last supper* was to be instituted, and the Rite first celebrated, *before* the great Sacrifice was actually offered, (for the reason just now given,) it was on that account (not to mention other reasons) necessary that some *symbolic elements* should be substituted in the place of the *very body and blood*. These elements were **BREAD AND WINE**: on this occasion naturally, properly, and elegantly called, **THE BODY AND BLOOD**.

For if the specific nature of the *last supper* was a *feast upon Sacrifice*, we must needs  
con-

conclude, that the divine Instituter of the feast would give all possible evidence of so important a Truth.

But if (as was in fact the case) this evidence must arise from, and out of, the occasion, and through the *words* of the Institution, then the figurative terms of BODY and BLOOD became necessary, these only being fully declarative of the nature of the Rite. And as this made the use of these *terms* to be necessary, so the *necessity* of them produced their ease and elegance. This is observed, because it has been usual amongst Protestants, even while they were opposing the portentous doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION \*, to acknowledge, either through ignorance of, or inattention to, the specific nature of the Rite, that the figure of *body and blood* was extremely violent and forced.

It likewise removes another difficulty, which the advocates for a *real presence* throw in the way of common sense. They pretend that, if the words of the institution

\* See note [II], at the end of this Book.

were only **FIGURATIVE**, the Evangelist and St. Paul might, and probably would, have changed the *figure*, in their narratives, five times repeated on different occasions; for that no reason can be given of the unvaried use of the same words, but because they are to be understood **LITERALLY**; and then as they were declarative of one of the greatest Mysteries in Religion, there was a necessity to record the *very terms* employed, whenever the history of the Institution was related. To this, it is sufficient to reply, that, indeed, were the words used *figuratively*, and the *figure* only expressive of a death commemorated, and no more, as the Socinians suppose it to be, it would be but reasonable to think, the terms would have been varied by one or other of the sacred Writers; because it is natural to believe, that Writers of so different genius and acquirements in language would not all have the same opinion concerning the use of these *precise terms*, so as to esteem them preferable to any other; as, in fact, on this idea of the Rite, they would not be. But we can by no means allow their consequence,

sequence, that, therefore, they are to be understood **LITERALLY**; since, if we admit the Institution to be of the nature of *a feast upon Sacrifice*, there will be the same necessity for the unvaried use of the terms, although they be *figurative*, as there would have been although they were *literal*. For these precise terms are as necessary to denote *a feast upon Sacrifice* (the Rite we contend for) as to denote the Sacrifice itself; the enormous idea of the church of Rome.

All this reasoning on the nature of the Institution, from the words of the Institutor, receives additional strength even from what hath been supposed to invalidate it, namely, the conclusion of them—**DO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME**—For although these words, when delivered alone, might enjoin no more than a *remembrance of a dead benefactor* (which is the sense the Socinians put upon them), yet, when preceded by—**THIS IS MY BODY—THIS IS MY BLOOD**—they are certainly an injunction to keep in *remembrance* his death and passion for our **REDEMPTION**. And could there be a feast

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upon



upon a Sacrifice in which that *Sacrifice* was not to be kept in mind?

It is true, that the Disciples of Christ being commanded to do this *in remembrance of him*, the Command shews that the celebration of this *Feast* was continually to be *repeated*, which was not the practice in the Pagan and Jewish *feasts after the Sacrifice*. But, in this particular, the reason of the difference is apparent—The GREAT SACRIFICE itself (of which the Jewish were *Types*) put an end to that mode of Religious Worship amongst the Followers of Jesus.

Jewish and Pagan oblations had, or were supposed to have, a passing and temporary Virtue. *For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices, which they offered year by year continually, make the Comers thereunto perfect: FOR THEN WOULD THEY NOT HAVE CEASED TO BE OFFERED* \*.

\* Heb. x. 1, 2.

But

But the Sacrifice on the Cross is the very *image* or the thing itself; and therefore has more than a *passing and temporary effect*, it continues operating till the consummation of all things; because *it makes the comers thereunto perfect*: we being sanctified through the *offering of the body and blood of Christ*, ONCE FOR ALL \*: *for where remission of sins is, there is NO MORE OFFERING FOR SIN* †. It seemed expedient, therefore, that the operating virtue of this Sacrifice, *offered once for all*, should be continually set before our minds, in repeated celebrations of the *Feast upon it*.

What hath been here reasoned, on the *Institution of the last supper*, appeared so strong to a late eminent Person, famous for his Socinian notions on this Subject, that (as I have been told) he used to confess, that if the death of Christ could be proved to be a *real Sacrifice*, the *last Supper* was undoubtedly of the nature of the *Feast after the Sacrifice*. This was said with his usual address, to make his Reader overlook,

\* Heb. x. 10.

† Ver. 18.

and so to neglect, one of the capital arguments for a *real sacrifice*; for it insinuates, that arguments for its *reality* are to be sought for elsewhere, and not in the institution of this *Rite*: Whereas it is our design to shew, that this very Rite of the *last supper* constitutes one of the capital arguments for the reality of the Sacrifice itself. And, therefore, let us now go on with it.

We have seen what may be naturally, and, indeed, what must be necessarily, concluded from this part of the Evangelic History of the Institution of the **LAST SUPPER**, concerning Christ's design therein.

Let us see next what may be collected of St. Paul's sense concerning the same; who, although occasionally, yet hath at large spoken of the nature of the **LAST SUPPER**.

And here we shall find, that from this very *sort of Feast* (which the *words* of the Institution of it plainly alluded to) St. Paul expressly draws a comparison; and, at the same time, to explain the *efficacy* of the *Rite*, informs us of the end and purpose of those *Feasts upon Sacrifice*.

It is in that place of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, where he reproves the profelytes to Christianity for the idolatrous practice of sitting with the Gentiles, in their *feasts upon Sacrifice*, and eating of the meats that had been offered to Idols.

His words are these—"I speak as to *wise men*: judge ye what I say. The *Cup of Blessing*, which we bless, is it not the COMMUNION OF THE BLOOD OF CHRIST? The *bread, which we break*, is it not the COMMUNION OF THE BODY OF CHRIST? For we, being many, are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread. Behold Israel after the flesh: are not they which eat of the Sacrifices, Partakers of the Altar? What say I, then? *That an idol is any thing, or that that which is offered to idols is any thing?* But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils, and not to God: and I would not that you should have FELLOWSHIP with Devils. Ye cannot drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils: ye

“ cannot be Partakers of the Lord’s Table,  
 “ and of the Table of Devils \*.”

The Apostle here professeth to write to these Corinthians, under their own assumed Character of *wise men*. And, though, perhaps, he useth the term a little ironically—as *wise in their own conceit*—to reprove the *divisions*, before objected to them ; yet the logical inference, drawn from an appeal to men of such a character, is not at all weakened by the sarcasm under which it is conveyed. My meaning is, we may fairly conclude, that St. Paul’s reasoning is such as, in his opinion, *wise men* would not disdain to weigh ; and so regularly conducted, that *wise men* would acknowledge to be of force. In a word, pursued with that science and exactness, which leaves no room for the pretence of its having a loose, popular, or inaccurate meaning.

Whence we may collect, in the first place, that the *Cup of blessing* is not merely a general commemoration of a dead Benefactor, but principally a commemoration of the

\* 1 Cor. x. 15—21.

DEATH AND PASSION of *that Benefactor*. It is the *Communion of the blood of Christ*; an expression, as we have shewn, of the utmost elegance to denote a *feast upon sacrifice*.

The inference which the Apostle draws from it, puts his meaning out of question. — *For we, being many* (says he) *are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread: i. e.* Our being *partakers of one bread*, in the communion, makes us, of MANY (which we are by nature), to become (by grace) ONE BODY in Christ. This inference is manifestly just, if the *Rite* be of the nature of a *Feast upon Sacrifice*; for then *the Communion of the body and blood of Christ* unites the *Receivers* into one body, by an equal distribution of one common benefit. But if it be *merely the Commemoration of a dead benefactor*, it leaves the *Receivers* as it found them; *not one body, incorporated by a common benefit*, but many separate individuals, professing one common Faith.

The Apostle having thus represented the *LAST SUPPER* to be of the nature of

*a Feast upon Sacrifice*, for the truth of which he appeals to their own conceptions of it—*the cup of blessing, is it not the Communion? &c.—the bread which we break, is it not the Communion? &c.*

He then endeavours to convince them of the *impiety* of their behaviour, from the nature of *those feasts*, as it was understood both by Jews and Gentiles ; who alike held, that they WHO EAT OF THE SACRIFICES WERE PARTAKERS OF THE ALTAR : *i. e.* had the benefits of the Sacrifice. But what had these *caters of the things sacrificed*, in common with the Partakers of the bread and wine in the LAST SUPPER, if this *Supper* was not a *feast* of the same kind with the *sacrificial Feasts*? If the three religious Feasts, Pagan, Jewish, and Christian, had not one common nature \*, How could the Apostle have inferred that this intercommunity was absolutely inconsistent?—*You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of Devils.* For though there might be *impiety* in the promiscuous use of Pagan and

\* See note [I], at the end of this Book.

Christian Rites ; yet the *inconsistency* arises from their having one common nature, which, springing from contrary originals, destroys one another's effects. The reasoning stands thus—*Those who eat of the Sacrifice are partakers of the Altar* ; that is, are partakers of the benefits 'of the Sacrifice. These Benefits, whether real or imaginary, were confirmed by a pact or convention between the Sacrificer and his God. They who eat in *the feast on that Sacrifice* are partakers of the supposed benefits of the Sacrifice, and, consequently, are Parties to the federal Rites which confirmed those benefits : so that the same Man could not, consistently with himself, be Partaker of both *tables*, the Lord's table and that of *Devils*.

This argument, St. Paul urges to the *Wise Men*, whose practice he is here exposing. And we see, it turns altogether on the Postulatum agreed on, " that the *Last Supper* is of the nature of a feast upon Sacrifice."

Now, if, instead of this idea, we substitute that other of the *Socinians*, *That the*  
*Last*



*Last Supper is a mere commemoration of a dead Benefactor*, all the force of this reasoning disappears and vanishes. For, although a reasonable man cannot execute two federal conventions, which destroy one another (the inconsistency here charged upon the Corinthians), yet he might celebrate, without *absurdity*, though not without *impiety*, a federal Rite in one religion, and a bare remembrance of a deceased Benefactor in another.

Further, the same Apostle, in correcting another abuse in the celebration of the *Lord's Supper*, takes occasion, once again, to declare the NATURE of this holy Rite. —His Corinthians, as appears by the next Chapter\*, had been guilty of eating the *bread* and *wine* in a very indecent manner, confounding it with the convivial doings in their ordinary repasts; where charity and sobriety had been too often violated. This faulty behaviour, by such an indiscriminate celebration, the Apostle calls the being *guilty of the body and blood of Christ*: a charge immoderately exaggerated, were the Last

\* 1 Cor. xi. 27.

Supper *a'mere commemoration of a dead Benefactor.* The Corinthians did not make a fit distinction between their more ordinary food, and their eating and drinking *in memory of a deceased friend.* This, without doubt, was a high indecorum; yet, to rank such delinquents with the *Murderers of the Lord of life*, is a severity in which we can see neither justice in the sentence, nor propriety in the terms of it. But let us only suppose (what we have indeed proved), that St. Paul regarded the Last Supper as *a feast upon Sacrifice*, that is, a Rite in which the benefits of Christ's death and passion were, in a certain manner, conveyed, in a proper celebration, thus impiously abused; and then the charge is fairly and justly made out. The profanation of such a Rite was, indeed, aiding and assisting in the crime of his Murderers, as far forth as it rendered his death ineffectual to the Participants; and therefore properly compared to the prodigious enormity of that impious act.

Such then, I presume, is the true nature of the LORD'S SUPPER. And were the ad-  
justing

justing an exact notion of it a matter of mere speculation, I should have been much shorter ; and have left the discussion of it (under the simple idea of a religious custom of Christian Antiquity) to the Ecclesiastical Historian.

But the Institution abounds with important consequences, in support of the Catholic Doctrine, which I here pretend to illustrate and confirm. For, if *the Last Supper be a feast upon Sacrifice*, the unavoidable consequence is, that *the death of Christ was a real Sacrifice*. It being the highest absurdity to believe, that a Rite was instituted on the supposition of *a real Sacrifice*, and to keep such Sacrifice in perpetual memory, and yet that *no real Sacrifice*, thus commemorated, ever had existence ; but only the *shadow* of one, under a figure of Speech.

And now it is high time to call again upon the SOCINIANS to examine and review this whole matter.

The Writers of the New Testament unanimously and invariably call the Death of Christ on the Cross, A SACRIFICE. To this, the SOCINIANS reply, “ We confess, indeed,

indeed, that those Writers do thus uniformly qualify the Death of Christ. But their Phraseology abounds with FIGURATIVE TERMS; and the word SACRIFICE is plainly and eminently of this number.—When the death of Christ, so highly beneficial to mankind, was the subject of their discourse, they could not enforce the value of those Benefits so intelligibly and strongly amongst Men, who had been taught to conceive that the highest benefits were conveyed by the tremendous Rite of SACRIFICE. But that this was all which those Writers meant, when they called Christ's death a SACRIFICE, appears from hence, that SACRIFICE, whatever original it had, soon became, in practice, a superstitious and an irrational Rite; and gloried in an efficacy which right reason disavows, namely, a VICARIOUS ATONEMENT; brought, indeed, by Moses, together with other pagan Rites, into the LAW, on account of the hardness of heart amongst those with whom their Leader had to deal." This, and a great deal more to the same purpose, hath had its effect, to the discredit of the doctrine

trine of REDEMPTION, on those Men, and on others, as ignorant of the true origin and nature of SACRIFICE as themselves.

To remove these objections to a Doctrine so essential to our faith, is the reason why I have been so large in proving,

1. First, From the origin and nature of SACRIFICE, that it is A REASONABLE SERVICE.

2. Secondly, That a VICARIOUS ATONEMENT, how much soever disclaimed by *natural Religion*, is, in the *Jewish Sacrifices* and in the *Sacrifice of Christ*, a proper atonement; and may be justified on the surest principles of reason.

3. Thirdly, That the Sacrifices of the *Law* were TYPICAL of the great Sacrifice of *Christ*.

4. Fourthly, That, were it the purpose of the sacred Writers, in their history of Christ's death and passion, to represent it as a REAL SACRIFICE, it is not possible to conceive they could convey that meaning in more expressive terms than in those which they have employed.

5. And

5. And lastly, That Christ's death and passion was, by himself, ordained to be perpetually commemorated; by a Rite which declares *that* Death could be no other than a *real Sacrifice*.

When the SCCINIANS, I say, have well considered all this, they may be asked, with propriety, and modesty, whether it can be believed by any reasonable man, that all this apparatus was provided for, and bestowed upon, a MERE FIGURE OF SPEECH? Or whether they deserve the title they give themselves, of being the only rational interpreters of Scripture, who can suppose such a perversion of Order, in the divine œconomy, as that it should dignify a MERE FIGURE OF SPEECH with preceding TYPES, and a following FESTIVE INSTITUTION; things, most improper for this Service; and only fitted to mislead us in our notions and conceptions concerning this capital doctrine of our holy *Religion*?

We have now (it is presumed) settled the true SPECIFIC NATURE of the death of Christ; and having before spoken largely  
of

of its END, we proceed to consider the effects of it.

They are comprised by the sacred Writers in the words, REDEMPTION and JUSTIFICATION.

*Redemption* respects the price paid by JESUS for our restoration to eternal life; and *Justification*, the acceptance of that price by GOD THE FATHER.

From these two terms School Divines coined a third, namely, SATISFACTION; which carries in it the ideas of a debt *paid*, and *accepted*.

The disputes amongst Divines concerning the sense and propriety of the terms, *Redemption* and *Atonement*, *Justification*, *Satisfaction*, &c. have been endless, and the confusion attending them inexplicable; chiefly occasioned by all parties mistaking their ground, and arguing on the principles of NATURAL LAW, when they should have had recourse to the REVEALED, as now explained.

But here a difficulty occurs. LIFE AND IMMORTALITY is, throughout the New Testament, considered as a FREE GIFT; called

called so in exprefs words by St. Paul—  
 “but as the *offence*, (fays he) fo alfo is  
 the FREE GIFT \*.” Yet, we know, a large  
 price was paid for it. And this, likewise,  
 the fame Apoftle agrees to,——“We were  
 “BOUGHT (fays he) with a price †.” And  
 St. Peter, fpeaking of certain heretics, fays,  
*They denied the Lord that BOUGHT them ‡.*  
 And St. Paul again calls, what he had juft  
 before entitled A FREE GIFT,—A PUR-  
 CHASED POSSESSION §.

To clear up this matter, and to reconcile  
 the Apoftle to himfelf, who certainly was  
 neither defective in natural fenfe, nor in  
 artificial logic, let us once again remind  
 the reader, that *Life and Immortality*, be-  
 ftowed on Adam in Paradife, was a FREE  
 GIFT, as appears from the hiftory of his  
 Creation. As a *free gift*, it was taken back  
 by the Donor, when Adam fell; to which  
 refumption, our original natural rights are  
 not fubject; fince natural Religion teacheth,  
 that fincere repentance alone will reinftate  
 us in the poffeffion of thofe rights, which

\* Rom. v. 15.

† 1 Cor. vi. 20.—vii. 23.

‡ 2 Pet. ii. 1.

§ Eph. i. 14.



our crimes had suspended. So that when this free gift, forfeited by the *first* Adam, was recovered by the *second*, its nature continuing the same, it must still remain a *free gift*; a gift to which man, by and at his creation, had no claim; a gift which natural religion did not bestow.

But, if misled by measuring this *revealed mystery* of human redemption, by the scant idea of human transactions, where a *free gift* and a *purchased benefit* are commonly opposed to one another, yet even here we may be able to set ourselves right; since, with regard to man, the character of a *free gift* remains to *immortality restored*. For the price paid for forfeited man, was not paid by him, but by a Redeemer of Divine extraction, who was pleased, by participating of man's nature, to stand in his stead. Hence the sacred Writers seeing, in this case, the perfect agreement between a FREE GIFT and a PURCHASED POSSESSION, sometimes call it by the one, and sometimes by the other name.

C H A P. III.

**S**O much for the MEANS of recovering what was lost by *Adam's* transgression.

In the entrance on this subject, I cautioned the Reader to keep in mind the distinction between the MEANS of recovering a lost benefit, and the CONDITION annexed to the enjoyment of that benefit, when recovered, as two different things, to be separately considered, and in their order.

With regard to the MEANS, (already explained at large,) it hath been shewn, that they were of an *arbitrary* nature, at God's good pleasure to appoint; unrestrained by any thing he had established in the general system of his moral government of man.

These MEANS, had not our holy Religion revealed them, could not, otherwise, have been known.

They were the DEATH AND SACRIFICE of his ever blessed Son, *Mediating* for us.

And now, *Man* being restored to his forfeited Inheritance, the secure possession of it still depended, as it did in the original

grant, on the performance of a **CONDITION**.

We have already shewn, Why that *first Condition* was the observance of a **POSITIVE COMMAND**. Which reasoning, if it have any force, proves, that the *new condition*, annexed to the recovered blessing, must be the observance of a **POSITIVE COMMAND** likewise.

**IMMORTALITY** (as hath been shewn) was a **FREE GIFT**, as well when *recovered*, as when *originally given* ; which might be bestowed, or recovered when forfeited, on what *Condition* the Divine Donor should be pleased to annex to it.

Nay, if we consider the nature of the whole oeconomy, we shall find it could not well be given, or restored when lost, on any other condition than the observance of a *positive Command*, since the performance of **MORAL DUTY** was the *condition* already appropriated, by *Natural Religion*, to the procurement of **GOD'S FAVOUR**.

It is true, had **IMMORTALITY** not been a *free gift*, but what Man had a right to, on his Creation, while under the government of *Natural Religion*, the condition  
annexed

annexed to immortality might have been the performance of *Moral Duty*.

And, indeed, those who so far mistake *immortality* as to esteem it a RIGHT, inherent in our nature, contend strongly for the *condition's* being of a *moral kind*; and that the command—*not to eat of the Tree of good and evil*, enjoined to Man in Paradise, is *so* to be understood, though delivered under the cover of an Allegory.

But besides the reason given to evince this mistake, another arises from the sacred Writer's not *explaining* this pretended Allegory: for where an *Allegory* contains a precept respecting the whole of *moral duty*, it can never be too plainly nor fully delivered. There would be none of this necessity if both the first and second condition of *immortal Life* were of a *positive nature*, though delivered in allegoric terms which spoke for themselves; for then the chief use of an interpretation had been little more than the gratification of our curiosity.

Allow, therefore, the reasoning here offered to explain the nature of the *condition* annexed

to the *free gift* (when first given, and when, after forfeiture, restored) to be solid and convincing, and it opens to us the abundant goodness of our Maker; who, that the possession of this recovered blessing might be no longer precarious, (as it was when first bestowed, on the condition, *to Do or to forbear Doing,*) was graciously pleased to change one positive Command for another; and, instead of something *to be Done*, hath now required of us something **TO BE BELIEVED**. From henceforth the *free gift* of immortality is become more permanent and certain: a **GRACE**, which the very nature of the *new Dispensation* would lead us to hope for and expect; whereby **IMMORTAL LIFE** under the Gospel, like the **FAVOUR OF THE DEITY** under *natural Religion*, is now, when forfeited, to be regained by **REPENTANCE**.

So much reason, order, and beauty is seen in the various parts of God's moral Government of Man, when compared and explained by one another.

The new **CONDITION**, as we say, is **FAITH IN THE REDEEMER**; or our own-  
ing

ing and receiving him as the promised Messiah, by whom alone we are to receive that salvation, procured for us by the Sacrifice of himself on the Cross.

And now, we begin to have some reasonable Notion of that great and fundamental principle of Christianity, that FAITH ALONE JUSTIFIETH, or, in other words, is the *sole condition* of recovering the possession of what we lost by ADAM.

This great Truth, though made the foundation of the Gospel of Jesus, yet (its reason lying hid, or not carefully sought for, and the little of it that was seen being horribly abused) *Believers*, as well as *Unbelievers*, have, too generally, concurred in condemning, as absurd in speculation, and fanatical and hurtful in practice. But the *Divine* who hath carefully studied the nature of God's moral or religious Dispensations, throughout all their parts, will be easily disposed to rest the whole of the Christian cause on the *reasonableness*, the *propriety*, and even the *necessity* of this capital Principle.

We have now shewn, 1st, That LIFE AND IMMORTALITY is, in its nature, a FREE GIFT ; and that holy Scripture always represents it under this idea : 2dly, That the benefit, which *Natural Religion* informs us we have to expect from our great Master, is, simply, a reward for well-doing : A reward, indeed, which will be abundant ; for, though we be *unprofitable servants*, yet is he a most bountiful Master. But ABUNDANT and ETERNAL belong to different Systems.

Man, from his Creation, to his entrance into Paradise, was, as hath been shewn, subject to the *Law of Natural Religion* only. From thenceforth, to his expulsion from Paradise, *Revealed Religion* superinduced to the *Natural*, was to be his Guide : whereby, to God's FAVOUR (the sanction of *Natural Religion*) was added IMMORTALITY (the sanction of the *Revealed*;) not on condition of his observance of *moral duties* ; for that was the condition of God's *favour* under *Natural Religion* ; but on condition of his obedience to a *positive command*.

But

But who are they, who, on the *recovery* of the free gift of immortality, are qualified to claim it? Certainly none but those who are already entitled to *some reward* by the *Religion of Nature*; which Religion accompanies the *Revealed* throughout all its various Dispensations; and on which, they are all founded.

But to make this great principle of **JUS-**  
**TIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE** still more clear, let us suppose that, at the publication of the Gospel, all to whom the glad tidings of immortality were offered, on the condition of *faith in Jesus*, had been moral or virtuous men; and, on that account, *entitled* (as natural Religion teacheth) to the *favour* of God, and an abundant reward; is it not self-evident, that **FAITH ALONE**, exclusive of the condition of good works, would, in that case, have been the very thing which *justified*, or entitled to life everlasting?

But are *good works*, therefore, of no use in the Christian system? So far from that impiety, *good works* are seen, by this explanation, to be of the greatest avail; as  
they



they render Men the only capable Subjects of this JUSTIFICATION which FAITH ALONE procures.

This is the true use and value of WORKS with regard to FAITH ; and greater cannot be conceived. Hence it appears, that JUSTIFYING FAITH is so far from excluding GOOD WORKS, that it necessarily requires them. But how ? Not as sharing in that JUSTIFICATION ; but as procuring for us a title to God's *favour* in general, they become the *qualification* of that inestimable Reward, revealed by the Gospel, to be obtained by FAITH ALONE.

To illustrate this matter by a familiar instance : Suppose a British Monarch should bestow, in *free gift*, a certain portion of his own *Domains* \* upon such of his subjects who should perform a certain service, to which they were not obliged by the stated Laws of that society under which they lived ; it is evident, that the performance of this *last engagement* ONLY would be the

\* To which *immortality* may be well compared.

thing which entitled them to the *free gift* : although that which gave them a claim to protection, as Subjects, in the enjoyment of **THEIR OWN PROPERTY \***, acquired by observing the terms of the contract between Subjects and Sovereign, was the necessary qualification to their claim of the *free-gift* ; since it would be absurd to suppose that this gift was intended for Rebels and Traitors, or for any but good and faithful servants of the King and Community.

This, I presume, is the true, as it certainly is the only consistent explanation, which hath been hitherto given of **JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE**. Well, therefore, might St. Paul reprove the ignorance or licence of certain of his converts at Rome, in his question (which, under his authority, we have asked before) *Do we then make void the LAW through FAITH ? God forbid ! Yea, we ESTABLISH THE LAW †.*

\* To which the reward offered by *natural religion* may be well compared.

† Rom. iii. 31.

“ But how (it may be asked) is the *Law of Works* ESTABLISHED by the Christian Doctrine of *Faith*? For by the *Law of Works*, the Apostle could mean no other than the *Law of Nature*; he having again and again told us, the *Law of Moses*, as distinguished from the *Law of Nature*, was abolished by the Law of Christ. I answer, This *Law of Works* was indeed ESTABLISHED, and in the most substantial manner, by the doctrine of *Faith*, as these *Works* are the very foundation of *justifying Faith*; the qualification of all who are entitled to the *Fruits* of that *Faith*, viz. LIFE AND IMMORTALITY.

But further, to prevent all mistakes on this important subject, (if the wisest provisions of Heaven could have prevented the effects of human perversity, without violating freedom of will) God was pleased to send JOHN THE BAPTIST, as the Fore-runner of his blessed Son, to proclaim and RE-  
 PUBLISH this great principle of *Natural Religion*, PARDON ON REPENTANCE—*Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.*

*band*\*. A necessary CALL to procure Subjects to this new Kingdom, just ready to be erected, where LIFE AND IMMORTALITY was to be obtained by *Faith*; but *such* a Faith as is founded on those *Works* which *Natural Religion* requires to be performed; or, when neglected, the omission or transgression to be atoned for by REPENTANCE.

This shews the extreme folly of what hath been asserted by certain of our unwary Friends, and echoed back to us by the Enemies of our holy faith, that the GOSPEL ITSELF is only A RE-PUBLICATION OF THE RELIGION OF NATURE; whereas, it now appears, that the whole of THIS RE-PUBLICATION amounts to no more than a *re-publication* of one great principle of Natural Religion, viz. *Pardon on Repentance*; and this, as the foundation of (and in order to introduce and render effectual) our FAITH IN CHRIST, the great principle of the *Revealed*.

To proceed. It is with regard to *John's* Character of a Preacher of *Moral Righteous-*

\* Matth. ii. 2.

*ness*, on the principles of Natural Religion, that *Jesus* says of him,—*Amongst them that are born of women hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist: notwithstanding, he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he* \* : *this least in the kingdom of heaven is greater* (he says) *than John*, i. e. greater in office. JOHN only proclaimed and republished that great Principle of Natural Religion,—*the doing WORKS meet for Repentance* †. Whereas the Disciples of *Jesus* were the Promulgators of the efficacy of Revealed Religion—*SAVING FAITH*—Greater in their spiritual gifts and graces. They worked *Miracles*. John worked *no Miracle*. The reason is obvious: *MIRACLES* are the necessary *CREDENTIALS* of men sent by God to promulge a *new Revelation*. The preaching up of *Natural Religion* (which was John's office) needed none of these *Credentials*: its truth having been engraved in the breasts of every one, when God created *Man in his own Image*.

But this is not all. The better to secure this natural Foundation of *SAVING FAITH*,

\* Matt. xi. 12.

† Acts xxvi. 20.

*Jesus*

*Jesus* himself, in his entrance on his Ministry, thought fit to repeat and confirm the Mission of *John*; and in the very words of his Forerunner—**REPENT, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand**\*. On this account, I suppose, it was that *Herod*, hearing that a new Prophet was just arisen, who began his Ministry like *John*, with preaching *repentance*, because *the kingdom of heaven was at hand*, mistook him for *John risen from the dead*; and being alarmed at the name of *Kingdom*, joined to the report of *Miracles*, now first performed by him, concluded, he was returned to life, with the accession of new powers; *Herod*, I say, in his fright, cries out,—*John the Baptist, whom I beheaded, is risen from the dead, and THEREFORE mighty works do shew forth themselves in him*†. A natural sentiment on this occasion. For cruelty, in its suspicions, commonly adds terror to superstition.

Yea, further, when *Jesus* first sent out his Disciples to give notice of his Gospel,

\* Matth. iv. 17.

† Matt. xiv. 2.

they,

they, too, were directed to enforce this previous and necessary Truth:—*And they went and preached that men should repent* \*.

And they whom he left behind him at his ascension were likewise directed to perform the same office. They began their work with the doctrine of REPENTANCE, only changing the Baptism of *John* into that of *Jesus*. St. Peter, in his first discourse to all the *dwellers at Jerusalem*, who enquired of him into the *way of salvation*, speaks in this manner:—*Repent, and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ* †.

St. Paul tells Agrippa, that he began his Mission with exhorting both Jews and Gentiles, *that they should repent, and turn to God, and do WORKS meet for repentance* ‡. And as he *began with repentance*, so he *ends with it*, where, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, he expresseth himself in this manner, “ Therefore leaving the PRINCIPLES  
“ of the Doctrine of Christ, let us go on

\* Acts. ii. 38.

† Acts xxvi.

‡ Acts xxvi.

“unto PERFECTION ; not laying again the  
 “FOUNDATION of repentance from dead  
 “works, and of faith towards God.”—  
 These are the great principles of *Natural Religion*, which Christ made the FOUNDATION of his Gospel. Iniquity is called *dead works*—as by *Faith towards God* is meant simple belief in him ; and alludes to the same Apostle’s definition of Natural Religion—where he says, *he that cometh to God must BELIEVE that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.* The sense of which is this—“Sink not  
 “back again to, nor rest in that Principle  
 “of *Natural Religion*, after you have made  
 “it (as your Master requires you should)  
 “the *foundation* of his Gospel.”

But as there are not only *first principles* in Natural Religion, but likewise in the Revealed, the Apostle goes on with an account of these likewise—*The doctrines of Baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgement.* Now these *first principles* of the GOSPEL we are likewise forbid to rest in, no less than in those *first principles* of NA-



TURAL RELIGION, which the Apostle began with—it follows (as we are directed) that we should GO ON UNTO PERFECTION. But if it be asked, *What was this doctrine of perfection?* I answer, it was that great MYSTERY, first revealed by the *Gospel*, which explains our loss by the disobedience of Adam, and the punishment attending it, together with the recovery of that loss by Christ Jesus, who was graciously pleased to become our MEDIATOR; and more than that, by virtue of his death and sufferings on the cross, our REDEEMER likewise, together with all the circumstances attending this wonderful transaction of human redemption.

This *Doctrine of Perfection*, the Apostle promises to explain to them, if God affords him leisure and a fitting opportunity—if God (says he) *permit*\*. This, for some wise ends of his Providence, God did not *permit*. Nor have we any reason to complain, as he endowed his inspired servants, in general, both with leisure and abilities to

\* Heb. vi. 1, 2, 3.

enrich the world with the noblest treasures of divine knowledge, ordained to enlighten and accompany his Church till the consummation of all things.

Thus, on the whole, it appears, even by the *principle* here explained, of SALVATION BY FAITH ALONE, that NATURAL RELIGION IS THE GROUND AND FOUNDATION OF ALL THE REVEALED.

Here let us stop a moment, to deplore the condition of human blindness, always running into opposite extremes.—While one sort of Believers (as we have observed) can see no more in the *Gospel* than a *Republication of the Religion of Nature*; and another are so far from owning, that *Natural Religion* is the foundation of the Revealed, that they are ready to deny that Natural Religion.

These, indeed, are portentous opinions; yet less so than that of our RATIONALISTS, who deny what Scripture has, in so many words, so often repeated, SALVATION, or JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE.

But they had mistaken the Gospel-dctrine of *salvation* and *justification* for no

more than God's *favour* indefinitely, as taught by *Natural Religion*; whereas the words signify ETERNAL LIFE, brought to light and defined by the *Gospel*. What occasioned their confounding two things so different was, an unsuspected error, full as gross, namely, that *Natural Religion*, in teaching a reward for well-doing, taught an *eternal Reward*. An error into which these men could scarce have fallen, had they distinguished the *Religion of Nature*, to which Adam became subject on his creation, from that Religion which was revealed unto him when he entered Paradise.

This hath been rectified at large towards the beginning of this Discourse; and to what important purposes, the Reader may now understand.

Indeed, had *Natural Religion* promised *life and immortality* for *well-doing*, then would God's two Dispensations have contradicted one another; as giving *immortality* to WORKS by *Natural Religion*, and *immortality* to FAITH by the *Revealed*.

But there are no contradictions in the Oeconomy of God's moral Government. All such are the spawn of *human Systems*, the misshapen issue of *artificial Theology*. And if one thing, in sacred Scripture, seems to look thus asquint upon another, we may be assured it arises from the vitiated Organs of the Observer.

To instance, in the famous case (so apposite to our present purpose) of the Apostles, PAUL and JAMES ; whom ignorant Interpreters have set at variance.

St. PAUL says \*,—THEREFORE WE CONCLUDE *that a man* IS JUSTIFIED BY FAITH WITHOUT THE DEEDS OF THE LAW.

But St. James seems to speak another language †—You SEE THEN, *how that by* WORKS a man is JUSTIFIED, AND NOT BY FAITH ONLY.

The assertion of each Apostle is (we see) a CONCLUSION from some preceding PREMISES. These are, first of all, to be considered, ere we can determine concerning the sense of either *conclusion*, where the

\* Rem. iii. 28.

† His General Epistle, chap. ii. 24,

same *capital word* is employed by both Writers, in common.

St. Paul having explained (for that is his subject) the nature of the GOSPEL COVENANT, whereby we are restored to the Inheritance which we lost by *Adam's* transgression, namely, *life and immortality*, ends his argument in this manner—*Therefore we conclude, that a man is JUSTIFIED BY FAITH* [*i. e.* entitled to this recovered benefit by virtue of *Faith*] WITHOUT THE DEEDS OF THE LAW [which are *Works*]. We have shewn how true this position is; WORKS being what *justifies* or entitles us to the *favour of God*, as taught by Natural Religion; the foundation, indeed, of the Gospel-Covenant; which promiseth life and immortality to FAITH ALONE.

But St. James, where he seems to talk so differently from Paul, was enforcing a very different thing, namely, the obligation of MORAL DUTY, as taught by *Natural Religion*, though not exclusive of the *Revealed*; for he exemplifies it by the precepts of the DECALOGUE; which, though a moral part of the LAW, is supported equally on

the two Religions, Natural and Revealed. He, therefore, concludes his argument in this manner—*Thus we see, how that by WORKS A MAN IS JUSTIFIED, and not by Faith only.*

Hence it appears, that the two Apostles use the word JUSTIFICATION, in these places, in very different senses. St. Paul means by it, a title to *eternal life*, on the terms of *Revealed Religion*; and St. James, a title to *God's favour* indefinitely, on the terms of *Natural Religion*.

Neither can they be fairly charged with obscurity in using an undefined term in different significations, since, had their Readers but attended to the different subjects each apostle was then treating, and both in an equally clear and obvious manner, the objectors would have seen, there was not the least need of a formal definition to ascertain the meaning of either.

On the whole, it appears, that the two Apostles are perfectly consistent in their reasoning on this question. Whose words, when aptly put together, produce this complete and capital Truth—“WORKS

entitle us to a *reward* indefinitely : FAITH to the reward of *eternal life* : But as he who deserves *no reward* at all, can never deserve the reward of *eternal life*, therefore the first step to the *greater* blessing must needs be a title to the *lesser*."

St. PAUL's purpose was to vindicate the use and honour of the *Gospel* from *judaizing Christians*, by shewing, that the MORAL WORKS of the *Jewish Law* (the same with those of *Natural Law*) did not entitle the observers to *eternal life* ; this being the specific reward which the *Gospel* bestows, and bestows it on FAITH alone.

St. JAMES's purpose was to vindicate the use and honour of *Natural Religion*, from the corrupt comments of those pretended Christians, who flattered themselves in their vices with the hopes of obtaining *eternal life* by FAITH, without being previously qualified for the FAVOUR of God, by the performance of those *good works* which Natural Religion enjoins : and so vitiating the integrity, and destroying the very nature of FAITH itself. A dreadful Venom, which appeared early, and, like a leprosy, soon

soon overspread the face of the Church ; at present known by the detested name of **ANTINOMIANISM.**

But to leave nothing unanswered on so important a question, I will suppose an Objector may persist in his reply.—Be it granted that the two Apostles are thus made consistent with one another ; a stronger objection still remains to the doctrine of *Salvation by FAITH ALONE*, and that is the Declaration of Christ himself, who gives this *Salvation or Justification* to **WORKS** ; where, in his account of his *second coming* to judge the world, he thus pronounces on the final doom of the Nations assembled round his Throne,—To the **RIGHTEOUS**, he says,—*Come, ye blessed of my Father, INHERIT THE KINGDOM PREPARED FOR YOU FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD. For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat ; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink ; I was a stranger, and ye took me in ; I was naked, and ye clothed me ; I was sick, and ye visited me ; I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the RIGHTEOUS answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee*



*thee an hungred, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? naked, and clothed thee? or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the KING shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, forasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my Brethren, ye have done it unto me. Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels. For I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then shall they also answer him, saying, LORD, when saw we thee an hungred, or a-thirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not unto me \*.*

\* Matt. xxv. 34—45.

To explain this, which seems to bear so hard against us, we must first of all observe the great care and caution in the divine Founder of our Faith, and of his Apostles, to whom he committed the trust of proclaiming it to the World; the care, I say, that this capital Doctrine of his Religion, JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE, should not be mistaken or abused, in making FAITH supersede those WORKS which Natural Religion requires as necessary to procure the *favour of God*. WORKS, which we have shewn to be the only true foundation of that FAITH WHICH ALONE JUSTIFIES. And the world hath had full experience of the horrid ABUSES occasioned by Men's placing FAITH on any other foundation.

So that were there *no more* in this *Scenical Representation* of the *last Judgment* than the purpose to make WORKS bear so considerable a part in it, the Representation had been still highly expedient. But there was *a great deal more*.——

—Hold, says an Objector; Let us first ask how this Scene can at all stand with your System, which teacheth, “that WORKS  
only

only entitle to a *reward indefinitely*; and that it is FAITH which entitles to the reward of eternal life: for these RIGHTEOUS, in the text, are rewarded with that which is only due to the FAITHFUL, namely, *eternal life*."

—I was about to explain another important use of this *Representation*, which you will now find is a full answer to your Objection.

—Jesus, in the very *mode* of obviating the above-mentioned *abuses* (for they were those abuses which it was his purpose here to obviate), hath, with the most divine energy and address, instructed us in another important Truth, namely, THAT THE VIRTUE AND MERITS OF HIS DEATH HAD A RETROSPECT QUITE BACKWARD, EVEN TO THE TIME OF THE FALL. The *Righteous*, or the performers of *good Works*, are here told, that they shall INHERIT *the Kingdom of Christ*, PREPARED FOR THEM *from the foundation of the World*. Who were these, here called, *Righteous*? Certainly such who had never heard of Christ, or been made acquainted with the terms of  
the

the Gospel ; such who had obeyed the dictates of Natural Religion ; and not having the LAW of *revealed Religion*, were (as the Apostle says) *a Law unto themselves* \*. This will appear evident to those who consider the nature and purpose of this *Representation* of the *last Judgment* ; when all Nations, or the whole Race of Mankind, as well those who lived *before*, as those who came *after* the Advent of the Son of God, are to appear at his Judgement-Seat.

The tremendous Session, here represented, proceeds in order. They who lived *before* the coming of Christ, are the first who are set to the Bar, whether for reward, or for condemnation. They who lived *after* were to come next. But, with the first, the Scene closes.

For Jesus had already explained *the terms of Salvation* to all the followers of the Gospel. Concerning the condition of these there could be no doubt. It might become a question amongst them, how those who had never heard of Christ were to be treated ; and whether they were to be made

\* Rom. ii. 14.

partakers of the benefits of his Death and Passion ; and likewise, upon what terms. To resolve those points, was the design of this moral Picture.

These *Righteous* are justified or saved. But how ? surely not by FAITH. For, the Apostle tells us, that FAITH *cometh by hearing ; and hearing by the word of God* \*. That is, “ The doctrine of *justifying Faith* cannot be learnt from *Natural Religion* ; but is to be taught by the Messengers of the *Revealed*, speaking by the Spirit of God.” The *justification of these Righteous*, therefore, must needs be by WORKS ; the natural foundation on which all revealed FAITH is built.

But to shew still more evidently, and sensibly, that the *Righteous*, in the Text, were those who had never heard of Christ, till they came to *Judgement*, we must observe, that as soon as they had been told what kind of WORKS they were which procured their Salvation, namely, administering to this their *Lord when he was a stranger, naked, sick, and in prison*, they are

\* Rom. x. 17.

made to reply—*Lord, when saw we thee a stranger, naked, sick, and in prison?* A Question, which they, who, in this life, had heard of Christ, could never ask; since their *Lord* had often told his Followers, that the men who did any of these *good Works* to the least of their distressed Brethren, did them unto him: that is, gained the same benefit by them, as if done to himself.

In a word, this important REPRESENTATION instructs us in these two points of Doctrine: First, That the KINGDOM, whose blessings were produced by the death and passion of Christ, was secured to us *even from the foundation of the world*; and Secondly, That it was *actual Righteousness*, as well as *imputative*, which made those who had never heard explicitly of CHRIST, to become partakers of his merits.

## C H A P. IV.

**H**AVING now, at length, gone through this GENERAL VIEW OF THE NATURE AND GENIUS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION; first, by an explanation of the MEANS by which we are enabled to recover the benefits lost by Adam's transgression; and, secondly, by an explanation of the CONDITION annexed to the enjoyment of those benefits, when recovered: We proceed to what remains of our *general view*. This Religion, as it was the LAST REVELATION of God's Will to Man, so it was the completion of all that preceded; and, therefore, when truly explained, must needs add the UTMOST FORCE AND LIGHT to every thing that, in the foregoing Volumes of the DIVINE LEGATION, hath been advanced, concerning the NATURE OF THE JEWISH DISPENSATION.

We have already observed how graciously the Divine Goodness displayed itself, in the RESTORATION of our *lost Inheritance*,

*Inheritance*, by changing the *condition* annexed to eternal life, from something to be DONE, to something to be BELIEVED. And this was FAITH IN OUR REDEEMER. For by such a change, this important blessing became less subject to a new loss or danger.

But this was not all. The same bountiful Lord of life did, for its further security, impart to every true Believer, the strength and light of his HOLY SPIRIT to support FAITH *in working out our Salvation* \*.

*Natural Reason*, indeed, contemplating the attributes of the Deity, discovered to us, that when human abilities alone are too weak to support us in the performance and discharge of moral duty, God will lend his helping-hand to aid our sincere endeavours.

But to manifest to us with what more abundant measure this aid is dispensed, under the GOSPEL, our blessed Redeemer hath minutely explained all that relates to the PERSON and to the operations of the Divine Dispenser, called the HOLY SPIRIT ; whom

\* See *The Doctrine of Grace.*



the FATHER and the SON have, for the further security of this recovered blessing, been pleased to associate with themselves in the administration of this œconomy. Which divine Person bears his share, with the other two, in the actual REDEMPTION OF MANKIND.

Thus far as to his NATURE. By which it appears, that this species of divine assistance, which our holy Religion calls GRACE, is to be understood as one of the *peculiar* blessings bestowed upon the FAITHFUL; and to be reckoned in that number. The words of St. John make this truth still more apparent. *This (saith he) Jesus spake of the SPIRIT, which they that believe on him should receive. For THE HOLY GHOST WAS NOT YET GIVEN, BECAUSE THAT JESUS WAS NOT YET GLORIFIED \**.

The OFFICE and OPERATION of this *holy Spirit*, is to support our *Faith* and to perfect our *Obedience*, by enlightening the *understanding*, and by purifying the *will*.

This, the blessed Jesus declares, where he professedly treats of the office of the

\* John vii. 39.

*holy Spirit.—I will pray the Father (says he) and he shall give you another COMFORTER, that he may abide with you for ever ; even the SPIRIT OF TRUTH. He dwelleth in you ; and shall be in you—which is the HOLY GHOST ; whom the Father shall send in my name : he shall TEACH YOU ALL THINGS \*.*

These are the two parts of his office: As the **TEACHER**, to impress upon the *understanding* all those practical and speculative truths, which constitute the sum and substance of our holy Religion ; and as the **COMFORTER**, by purifying and supporting the *will*, to enable us to persevere in the profession of those truths that constitute the body of *moral righteousness* ; the foundation (as we have shewn) of that **JUSTIFYING FAITH**, to which the Gospel hath annexed salvation or eternal life.

And the œconomy of the Gospel seemed to require, that when this Dispenser of divine assistance, the **HOLY SPIRIT**, was to be clearly revealed, and personally distinguished, as soon as Jesus was **GLORIFIED** †,

\* John xiv. 26.

† John vii. 39.

his first descent, amongst the *Faithful*, should be attended with *signs* and *wonders*, to bear witness to the SANCTIFIER in the same way that they had borne witness to the REDEEMER. These signs were, in both cases, of the same nature, and performed for the same ends: First, for CREDENTIALS of their mission; and secondly, INDICATIONS of their office.—“ When the day of  
 “ Pentecost was fully come, they [the  
 “ Apostles] were all, with one accord, in  
 “ one place; and suddenly there came a  
 “ sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty  
 “ wind, and it filled all the house where  
 “ they were sitting. And there appeared  
 “ unto them cloven tongues, like as of  
 “ fire, and it sat upon each of them: and  
 “ they were all filled with the HOLY  
 “ GHOST; and began to speak with other  
 “ tongues, as the SPIRIT gave them utterance\*.”

This miracle manifested itself in the *gift of tongues*, to the astonished multitude, barbarous and civil, then casually assembled from every quarter of the habitable Globe,

\* Acts ii. 1. & seq.

who

who heard the APOSTLES, (all natives or inhabitants of Galilee,) speaking to each of these Strangers, in his own mother-tongue. And this being for the service and conviction of others, was, in its nature, TEMPORARY \*. Other effusions of the Holy Spirit were PERMANENT; and these, instead of being conveyed *in a sound from heaven as of* A RUSHING MIGHTY WIND, were only conveyed and felt in the STILL, SMALL VOICE. For these were principally for the use and benefit of the favoured Receiver; who, although he himself was fully assured by them of the divine presence, yet could he give no sufficient evidence of that Presence to others.

Thus it appears, that this species of divine assistance, which our holy Religion calls GRACE, is to be considered as one of the *peculiar* blessings bestowed upon the *Faithful*. For, as hath been observed, the FATHER and the SON have been graciously pleased to associate, in the administration of this new œconomy, a *third divine Person*, called in Scripture the HOLY GHOST.

\* See note [K], at the end of this Book.

## C H A P. V.

**T**HIS MIRACULOUS appearance of the HOLY SPIRIT, on his first *Descent*, naturally and happily leads us forward in this our *general view*; by bringing us to the consideration of the extraordinary manner in which it hath pleased Providence to promulge and propagate the Christian Faith.

Now, as it is apparent to common sense, that an immediate Revelation from Heaven can be firmly established no otherwise than by the intervention of MIRACLES; and, as we have found, by the sad experience of human corruption, that THIS SUPREME EVIDENCE of our holy Religion hath been fatally discredited by the contagion of *lying wonders*, deforming almost every age of the Church, it will be of the utmost importance to discover and fix the bounds of this *extraordinary interposition* \*.

\* Discourse on the Resurrection.

But a **MIRACLE**, even when best supported by human testimony, needeth to be still further qualified, ere it can deserve credit of a rational Believer : namely, that it be so connected with the system to which it claims relation, as that it be seen to make a part of it, or to be necessary to its completion.

It is otherwise, in **Facts**, acknowledged to be within the verge of nature and human agency. Here all that is wanted to recommend them to our belief, is the testimony of knowing and honest Witnesses.

While in pretended **Facts** beyond the verge of nature and human agency, such as those we call **MIRACULOUS**, much more is required when offered to our belief. The controul and arrest of the established **Laws of Nature**, by the God and Author of Nature, either mediately or immediately, is a thing which **COMMON EXPERIENCE** hath rendered so extremely improbable, that it will at least balance the very best human testimony, standing unsupported and alone. And why ? Because ordinary **Facts** carry their **CAUSES** openly and manifestly along

with them : Or if not so, yet none are required, as we are convinced their *causes* must be **INTRINSECALLY** there. But in **Facts** pretended to be *miraculous*, the immediate efficient cause is *extrinsecal* ; and therefore leaves room for doubt and uncertainty : or rather, when, in this case, men perceive *no cause*, they are apt to conclude there is none ; or, in other words, that the report is false and groundless. So that when the *whole evidence* of the **Fact**, deemed *miraculous*, is solely comprised in human testimony, and is, in its nature, contrary to **UNIFORM EXPERIENCE**, the Philosopher will, at least, suspend his belief.

But though in all **MIRACLES**, that is, in **Facts** deemed miraculous, the **EFFICIENT CAUSE** continues unknown ; yet, in those which our holy Religion seems to recommend to our belief, the **FINAL CAUSE** always stands apparent. And if *that cause* be so important as to make the *Miracle* necessary to the ends of the **DISPENSATION**, this is all that can be reasonably required to entitle it to our belief ; when proposed to us with the same fulness of human testimony,

5. *of Moses Demonstrated.* 233

, which is sufficient to establish a  
on fact : since, in this case, we have  
ORAL ATTRIBUTES OF THE DEITY  
are us from an error, so fatal to our  
e \*.

d the confining our belief of *Miracles*  
these bounds, wipes away (as I  
ive) all the miserable sophistry of our  
n pretenders to Philosophy, both at  
and abroad, against MIRACLES, on  
ce of their being contrary to GENE-  
EXPERIENCE, in the ordinary course  
ings. At least, the TRUE PHILOSO-  
so thought, when he made that  
enquiry into Truth, towards the con-  
n of his immortal Work—" Though  
MON EXPERIENCE (says he) AND  
E ORDINARY COURSE OF THINGS have

ere, by the way, let me observe, that what is now  
res that CRITERION, which Dr. Middleton and  
ponents, in a late controversy concerning MIRA-  
demanded of one another ; and which yet, both  
, for some reasons or other, declined to give ;  
, some certain mark to enable men to distinguish  
the purposes of Religion) between true and cer-  
*miracles*, and those which were false or doubtful.

“ justly



“justly a mighty influence on the minds  
 “of men to make them give or refuse cre-  
 “dit to any thing proposed to their belief;  
 “yet there is ONE CASE wherein the  
 “STRANGENESS of the facts LESSENS NOT  
 “THE ASSENT to a fair testimony given of  
 “it. For where SUPERNATURAL events  
 “are SUITABLE TO THE ENDS AIMED AT  
 “BY HIM who hath power to change the  
 “course of nature, *then*, under such cir-  
 “cumstances, they may be FITTER to pro-  
 “cure belief, by how much the more they  
 “are BEYOND OR CONTRARY TO ORDINA-  
 “RY OBSERVATION. This is the proper  
 “case of MIRACLES, which, well attested,  
 “do not only find credit themselves, *but*  
 “give it also to other truths which need such  
 “confirmation \*.”

\* Locke's Essay concerning Human Understanding,  
 Vol. II. Chap. Of the Degrees of Assent, Sect. xiii.  
 p. 3 6.—This great man, we find, understood it to  
 be apparent to common sense, that the belief of an im-  
 mediate Revelation from Heaven could be firmly estab-  
 lished no otherwise than by the aid of *Miracles*.—But see  
 this Truth proved more at large as we go along.

Now

Now the **MIRACLES**, which Christianity objects to our belief, and which, therefore, demand credit of every reasonable man, are, and I apprehend must be, qualified in one or other of these three ways.

I.

They must either, in the first place, be such as Christ and his inspired Servants and Followers are recorded to have performed for the **CREDENTIALS** of their mission.

II.

Or, secondly, such as make a necessary part in, or towards the completion of the Gospel System.

III.

Or, thirdly and lastly, such as have been performed directly to manifest and **VERIFY THE DIVINE PREDICTIONS**, when impious men have set themselves on attempting to defeat them.

I.

When a *Miracle* is wrought (as in the first case) for the **CREDENTIAL** of a Messenger

sender coming with the revealed Will of God to Man, we may safely confide in it. Because *such* a Miracle is so far from being beneath the dignity of the occasion, that it is even necessary to answer the important purpose of it. Under this idea, it hath, I believe, been generally conceived in every age of our holy Religion, till the *present*. Indeed, it seems to have been the constant expectation of Believers, that these supernatural attestations should accompany every **NEW MESSAGE** from Heaven; insomuch that all the *pretended Revelations* in the Pagan World, as well as the *real* in the Jewish and the Christian, were constructed on this principle of credit.

But now, in these times, some there are even amongst the Ministers of the Gospel, who tell us, they think, or at least are hardy enough to teach, that the **REASONABLENESS** of the Doctrine is the best, and indeed the only true evidence of its divine Original.

If in this they should not be mistaken, I may, however, boast, that I, myself, have,

have, in this Work, greatly strengthened this boasted plenitude of evidence.

But, in reverence to Truth, I hold myself obliged to own, that, in my opinion, the REASONABLENESS of a Doctrine pretended to come immediately from God, is, of itself alone, no PROOF, but a PRESUMPTION only of such its divine Original : because, though the *excellence* of a Doctrine (even allowing it to surpass all other moral teaching whatsoever) may shew it to be worthy of God, yet, from that sole *excellence*, we cannot certainly conclude that it came immediately from him ; since we know not to what heights of moral knowledge the human understanding, unassisted by inspiration, may arrive. Not even our full experience, that all the Wisdom of Greece and Rome comes extremely short of the Wisdom of the GOSPEL, can support us in concluding, with certainty, that this Gospel was sent immediately from God. We can but very doubtfully guess, what excellence may be produced by a well-formed and well-cultivated Mind, further  
blessed

bleſſed with a vigorous temperament, and a happy organization of the Body. The amazement into which Sir Iſaac Newton's Discoveries, in Nature, threw the learned World, as ſoon as men became able to comprehend their Truth and Utility, ſufficiently ſhews, what little conception it had, that the human faculties could ever riſe ſo high or ſpread ſo wide.

On the whole, therefore, we conclude, that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, there is no ground of conviction ſolid and ſtrong enough to bear the weight of ſo great an intereſt, but that which riſes on MIRACLES, worked by the firſt Meſſengers of a new Religion, in ſupport and confirmation of their MISSION.

That is, MIRACLES, and MIRACLES ONLY, demonſtrate that the Doctrines, which is ſeen to be *worthy* of God, did, indeed, COME IMMEDIATELY from him.

To be plain, there is a glaring abſurdity in the novel fancy here expoſed ; of which we can find no inſtance in the affairs of civil life—And civil and religious Policies are conducted on the ſame principles of Reaſon,  
while

while administered in their integrity. For what *public Person* ever imagined, or expected to have it believed, that the true and proper CREDENTIAL of a Minister of State was the fairness of his Character, or the equity of his demands? Nothing but the BROAD-SEAL of his Master, he knows, will satisfy those to whom he is sent, that he has a right to the Personage which he assumes. Doth not common sense tell us, that a Messenger from God must come recommended to mankind in the same manner? Neither his personal accomplishments, nor the excellence of his Doctrine, nor, in a word, any thing short of the BROAD-SEAL of Heaven, exemplified in MIRACLES, will be sufficient to establish his assumed Character.

But the Doctors of this *new School* seem to have fallen into the absurdity here exposed, by another as ridiculous; namely, that THE GOSPEL ITSELF IS NO MORE, NOR OTHER, THAN A REPUBLICATION OF THE RELIGION OF NATURE: (an extravagance, amongst the first of those, which, I presume,

fume, this Work of the Divine Legation hath totally discredited.)

Now (say these men) if the light of Reason hath instructed us in what NATURAL RELIGION teacheth, it seems most consonant to common sense, that the REPUBLICATION of this Religion should be established in the same manner that it was first PUBLISHED to the world. Not so (I reply), even on their false principle of a mere REPUBLICATION. For since it was found, by experience, that the first publication of God's will, by natural light alone, hath proved insufficient to perpetuate the knowledge of it; we shall think it most adequate to Reason, that the REPUBLICATION should be better guarded; to secure it from the like mischance.

But the truth is, this idea of Christianity's being *merely such a* REPUBLICATION arose from the grossest ignorance of the GOSPEL; which reveals more, infinitely more, important Truths than NATURAL LIGHT did or could discover. It reveals the whole scheme of *human Redemption*; which, till this *Revelation* took place, was a Mys-

TERY, kept hid amongst the Arcana of the Godhead.

However, the same Men have another objection to the belief of these *miraculous Credentials*. And the objection arises, it seems, from our SOPHISTICAL reasoning in support of them: for thus (they say) we argue——

“ So little being known of the powers of created spirits, superior to ourselves, (some of which we are taught to believe are beneficent to man, and some averse) all that we can conclude of MIRACLES, considered only in themselves, is, that they are the work of agents, able, in some instances, to controul Nature, and divert her from her established course. —But whether this controul be performed immediately by the God of Nature, or by Agents acting under his direction, (which amounts to the same thing) or, on the contrary, by malignant agents, at enmity with Man, and, for a time, permitted to indulge their perverse and hurtful purposes; cannot be known but by the *nature of that Doctrine*, in support of which, the pretended MIRA-



CLES are performed. The conclusion from this is, that THE MIRACLES ARE TO BE VERIFIED BY THE DOCTRINE.

But then, (say they, again) since we know so little of the extent of the human understanding, we cannot determine of the *true Original* of the Doctrine proposed to our belief, till it be supported by MIRACLES; now the conclusion from this is, that the DOCTRINE IS TO BE VERIFIED BY MIRACLES.

Such is the vicious Circle (say our adversaries) round which we run, when we first PROVE THE MIRACLES BY THE DOCTRINE, AND THEN PROVE THE DOCTRINE BY THE MIRACLES.

This is, without doubt, a *Paralogism*. But we deny that any such faulty reasoning is here employed. The term, DOCTRINE, in the first proposition, is used to signify a *Doctrine agreeable to the truth of things, and demonstrated to be so by natural light*. In the second proposition, the term, DOCTRINE, is used to signify a *Doctrine immediately, and in an extraordinary manner, revealed by God*. So that these different signi-

significations, in the declared use of the word DOCTRINE, in the two propositions, sets the whole reasoning free from that *vicious Circle* within which our Philosophic Conjurers would confine it. In this there is no fruitless return of an unprogressive argument; but a regular procession of two distinct and different Truths, till the whole reasoning becomes compleat. In truth, they afford mutual assistance to one another; yet not by taking back, after the turn has been served, what they had given; but by continuing to hold what each had imparted to the support of the other.

On the whole, we conclude, that if any Messengers ever wanted the CREDENTIALS OF MIRACLES, they were the first MESSENGERS OF GOD in the revealed Mystery of the GOSPEL.

Indeed, divine Providence hath so strictly appropriated MIRACLES *for these* CREDENTIALS, that JOHN THE BAPTIST, the Precursor of those Messengers, destined only to announce the approaching GOSPEL, worked NO MIRACLES: yet, had *Miracles* been of no other use than what this new-

fangled Doctrine assigns to them. namely, to make the hearers attentive to the excellence of the *morals* of the new Religion, none had more need of them than JOHN and his Penitents.—St. CHRYSOSTOM seems to have understood the GOSPEL better than these modern Divines, when he supposed that even JESUS himself worked no *Miracle* till after his baptism, *i. e.* till the time of his addressing himself to his Mission, when CREDENTIALS to his Character were naturally required; which *Credentials* had he not given, the unbelieving Jews, as he himself acknowledges, had been free from blame.—IF I HAD NOT DONE AMONGST THEM (says he) THE WORKS WHICH NONE OTHER MAN DID, THEY HAD NOT HAD SIN\*.

## II.

We come next to that second Species of *Miracles*, mentioned above, whose subject makes so essential a part in the Oeconomy of the GOSPEL, that, without it, the whole would be vain and fruitless. The first and

\* John xv. 24.

principal of the species is the MIRACLE of Christ's RESURRECTION from the Dead.—*If Christ be not RAISED (saith St. Paul) your faith is vain; you are yet in your sins* \*. And St. Peter uses the same argument to shew the NECESSITY of his Master's *resurrection*.—*God (says he) raised him up, having loosed the pains of death; BECAUSE IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE THAT HE SHOULD BE HOLDEN OF IT* †.

Now from whence does the *impossibility* arise, if not from the force of St. Paul's argument concerning the nature of Christ's *Resurrection*?

So important a circumstance, therefore, required that the highest evidence should be given of its truth.

CHRISTIANITY reveals the restoration of lapsed and forfeited Man to life and immortality from the power and dominion of the Grave.

But the course of human nature continuing the same *after* this restoration which it held *before*, and the GRAVE still boasting

\* 1 Cor. xv. 17.

† Acts ii. 24.

its power, though foolishly, indeed, and in vain, *since Death had lost its sting* \* ; there seemed to be need of some extraordinary evidence of the *reality of this change* in the order of things, which being procured at the price of Christ's death on the Cross, and then visibly paid, the nature of the compact required that the benefit obtained should be as visibly put into our possession ; and both one and the other openly exemplified in the same Person, the *Author of our Salvation*. For, if he himself was not seen to enjoy the fruits of that Redemption, which was of his own procuring, what hopes could be entertained for the rest of mankind ? Would it not have been too plausibly concluded, that this expedient of *Redemption* had proved ineffectual by CHRIST's not *rising* ? So necessarily connected (in the Apostle's opinion) was the MIRACLE of our Saviour's visible *resurrection* with the very essence of the Christian Faith. And this *Resurrection being the first fruits of them that slept*, was the very thing

\* 1 Cor. xv. 55.

which

which both assured and sanctified all the benefits that were to follow. For the *Jewish first fruits* (to which the expression alludes) were of the nature, and a security to the plenty of the approaching Harvest.

Thus, we see, the MIRACLE of the *Resurrection* made a necessary part of the integrity of the Gospel.

But it had other uses and expedencies besides ; which (in concluding this head) I shall, in as few words as possible, endeavour to point out. The heathen World had, in general, some notion of another life. But a *resurrection* of this *material* body, after death, to accompany the soul in its future existence, never once entered into their imaginations ; though some modern Writers have been misled to think otherwise, partly by what they had learnt of the *fables of the vulgar*, full of shadows of a bodily shape, Inhabitants of the Tombs, or Attendants on the *Soul*, in the sequestered abode of Spirits ; and partly of the more solemn dreams of the Philosophers, particularly the famous STOICAL RENOVATION, which, however, is so far from

bearing any resemblance, or yielding any credit to the CHRISTIAN resurrection, though mistaken for it, that it is absolutely inconsistent with it.

The Sages of Antiquity had discovered many qualities in the human *Soul*, which disposed them to think that it might survive the *Body*. But every property they knew of *Matter* led them to conclude, that, at the separation and dissolution of the union between these two constituent parts of Man, the *Body* would be resolved into the Elements from whence it arose. And that sect of Philosophy which most favoured, and best cultivated the Doctrine of the Soul's immortality, considered the Body only as its *prison*, into which it was thrust, by way of penance, for its pre-existent crimes; and from which, when it had undergone its destined purgation, it was to be totally set free. Nay, so little did the RESURRECTION OF THE BODY enter into their more studied conceptions, that when St. Paul, at Athens (the capital Seat of Science), preached JESUS AND THE RESURRECTION\*,

\* Acts xvii. 31.

his Auditors mistook the second term to be like the first, a revelation of some new Deity, a certain Goddess, called ANASTASIS \*.

With

\* In this sense St. CHRYSOSTOM understood the thoughts of the Athenians to be concerning St. Paul's mention of the *Anastasis*. Dr. BENTLEY thinks otherwise. But which of these two Doctors was likely to be best acquainted with the genius and state of Paganism, when St. Paul preached at Athens, must be left to the judgment of the Reader. This, at least, is certain, that the reason the modern Doctor gives, why the *Athenians could not mistake ANASTASIS for a Goddess, because they too well understood the notion of a resurrection*, is a very weak one, since they had no notion of a *resurrection* at all ; unless they mistook (which is very unlikely) the STOICAL RENOVATION for that which the Apostle preached. Dr. Bentley, indeed, seems to have fallen into that error, or he could scarce have said—*the Athenians well understood the notion of a Resurrection*. However, let the Athenians understand this *Stoical renovation* as they would, they were certainly liable to a folly as gross, and at that time much more general, which was, the turning a *moral entity into an object of worship*: most of which abstract notions, superstition had thus metamorphosed. Amongst the JEWS, indeed, the RESURRECTION was become a national Doctrine some time before the advent of the MESSIAH ; not collected (we may be sure) from natural reason, nor taught



With all these prejudices, so unfavourable to the RESURRECTION OF THE BODY, nothing less than the assurance of the best attested MIRACLE, in confirmation of it, could have reconciled the Gentile World to the belief of so incredible a Doctrine.

This we say with the greater confidence, since St. Paul himself, on this occasion, appears to argue on the same idea. For when he had rectified this error of the Athenians, concerning *Jesus and the resurrection*, and had informed them that, by this *resurrection*, he meant the revival of the *dead bodies* of men, and restoration of them to life, he adds—*whereof God hath given ASSURANCE unto all men, in that he raised Jesus from the dead.*—*For after his resurrection, he was seen* (says the same Apostle, on another occasion) *of five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present* \*.

taught them by their *Scriptures*, yet collected from the contemplation of their Prophets misinterpreted; where the *restoration of the Mosaic Republic* was predicted, in terms which were mistaken by the latter Jews, to signify the revival or resurrection of the Bodies of their deceased Ancestors; of which many instances might be given, besides Ezekiel's *Vision of the dry bones*.

\* 1 Cor. xv. 6.

2. Under this second division of *Miracles*, whose subject makes an essential part in the Oeconomy of the Christian dispensation, let me recommend to your consideration and belief the power of Jesus and his Disciples to CAST OUT DEVILS OR EVIL SPIRITS from the bodies of Men suffering by those inhospitable Guests \*.

And under this division I the rather chuse to place this species of Miracles, since, by occasion of a very general and infamous pretence of such a power, especially in these later times, the fact itself has been rendered doubtful ; and even excluded from the number of those mental and bodily disorders, recorded by the Evangelists, to have been relieved in the most extraordinary manner by Jesus and his Disciples—*And they brought unto him all sick people (says St. Matthew) that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were POSSESSED WITH DEVILS, AND LUNATICS, and he healed them*†.—Insomuch that at

\* Sermon On the Fall of Satan.

† Matt. iv. 24.

length we have been told, that what is here called the being *possessed with Devils*, was, indeed, no other than an atrabilaire Lunacy, or one of those *occult distempers* for which Physicians could not find a remedy, or, what was still harder, were at a loss for a *name*; and therefore, in complaisance to the imbecillity of their Patients, they agreed to suppose it *supernatural*, or (saving your presence) the *work of the Devil*.

But this strange Malady being delivered to us as a REAL POSSESSION by the Evangelist last quoted, who, at the same time, distinguishes it from *natural* disorders, and particularly from LUNACY, with which these modern Doctors are willing to confound it, we chuse to adhere to the opinion of the sacred Writer.

In support of which, and to form a right judgment of the matter in question, it may be proper to consider what adverse part the DEVIL bore in disturbing the Oeconomy of Grace.

Now, in the History of the FALL, recorded by Moses, to which the Writers of the  
New

New Testament perpetually alluded, SATAN, or the *Tempter, Calumniator*, the old Serpent, or the *Evil One*, (for by these names he is characterized in Scripture,) is represented as having instigated the *first man* Adam, to disobedience; for which by the *second Adam*, Jesus Christ, (who restored us to our lost inheritance,) is denounced his punishment in these figurative terms, *the seed of the Woman should bruise the Serpent's head* \* : explained in the New Testament, to be the final conquest and destruction of this enemy of mankind by our *Redeemer*. So that we may reasonably expect to find the *punishment* of the *Tempter* recorded in the History of our REDEMPTION, as his *crime* was recorded in the History of the FALL. And, indeed, this circumstance, so necessary to the story of the whole transaction, we meet with in the Gospel, on several occasions.

When the Disciples, whom Jesus had sent out to renounce their Mission, came back to their Master, exulting in the power of

\* Gen. iii. 15.

their Ministry, he receives them as Conquerors, returning in triumph from their spiritual warfare—I beheld SATAN (says he) *as lightning fall from heaven* \*. A strong and lively picture of the sudden precipitation of that *Prince of the Air* from the place where he had so long held his usurpation, hanging like a pestilential meteor over the sons of men.

The rise, therefore, of Christ's Kingdom, and the fall of Satan's, being thus carried on together, it would be strange indeed, if, in the Gospel, we should find no MARKS of the rage of Satan's expiring tyranny amidst all the salutary blessings of the rising Empire of Christ. But we find them in abundance. We find this enemy of our salvation, mad with despair, invoking all the powers of darkness to blast that *peace and good-will towards men*, proclaimed by Angels on the birth-night of the Son of God. For when he understood, by his baffled attempts on his Lord and Master, that the SOULS of Men had escaped his

\* Luke x. 18.

usurped Dominion, he turned his cruelty on their BODIES, in the most humiliating circumstances of pain and oppression that could dishonour or disgrace humanity ; permitted, no doubt, to take a wider range at this decisive instant than at any other, either before or since, in order to illuminate the glories of his Conqueror.

Had the *first Adam* stood in the rectitude of his Creation, he had, on observing the Command given to him in Paradise, gained IMMORTALITY, and been placed above and beyond the reach of NATURAL and MORAL evil. His relapse back to MORTALITY brought *both* in the world. The office of the *second Adam* was to restore us to our Paradisaical State. But as the *immortality*, purchased for us by the Son of God, was unlike to that which became forfeit by the transgression of the *first man* in this particular, that it was not to commence immediately, but was reserved for the reward of a future state, it followed that both *physical* and *moral* evil were to endure for a season. Yet, to manifest that they were, in good time, to receive their  
final

final doom from the REDEEMER, it seems essential to his character that he should, in the course of his Ministry, give a convincing specimen of his power over *both*.

One part, therefore, of his Godlike labours was, we find, employed in curing all kinds of *natural* diseases. But had he stopped here amidst his conquests over *physical* evil, the full evidence of his Dominion over *both Worlds*, which, by his office, he was to restore to their primeval integrity, had remained defective.

Jesus, therefore, was to display his Sovereignty over *moral evil* likewise ; and this could not be seen in the manner it was manifested over *natural* evil, but by a sensible Victory over SATAN ; through whose machinations *moral evil* was brought into the World, and by whose temptations it was sustained and increased.

Hence it was that, amongst his amazing works of sanity and salvation, the CASTING OUT OF DEVILS is so much insisted on by the Writers of his life and death ; he himself having informed them, that it was essential to the erection of his spiritual  
King-

Kingdom—*If I (says he) cast out Devils by the Spirit of God, THEN the Kingdom of God is come unto you* \*.

Thus, from the very genius of the GOSPEL, from the nature and constitution of the System of GRACE, it appears that this was a real ejection of the *evil Spirit*.

But, besides this, Jesus and his Disciples, in their manner of working, and in the mode of recording what they worked, did every thing that might best display a real victory over SATAN.

Let the *Jews* of that time, let the *Discased* themselves, be as much in an error as you are pleased to conceive them, in the matter of *Diabolical Possession*; yet no Believer will presume to think that Jesus was deceived in his own case; or was disposed to deceive others, when he informed his Historians of his *being led by the Spirit into the Wilderness, and of his being tempted there forty days of the DEVIL* †.—Whether any, or what part of this transaction passed in Vision, is not material to determine, since

\* Matt. xii. 28.

† Luke iv. 1, 2.



the *reality of the agency* is the same on either supposition ; as its truth depended not on the mode of sensation, but on the infallible assurance of that agency. For Jesus, in his amazing humiliation, when he assumed *our nature*, was yet, without doubt, superior to those infirmities of it which arise from the delusions of sense ; as such delusions would have been incompatible with the exercise of his divine Ministry. If, therefore, there was any mistake in this matter, it must be (I speak it with the most reverential horror) the designed contrivance of our blessed Master himself, who assures us, that *he was not only the way*, but **THE TRUTH** \* likewise.

So far then is clear, that the *evil Spirit* was neither absent nor inactive when the Gospel was first opened to mankind.

IN THIS TEMPTATION, he was permitted to try whether he could traverse the great work of human Redemption—*In his possession of men's bodies*, he seems to have been, in part, forced upon the attempt,

\* John xiv. 6.

that *the casting of him out*, by the power of Jesus, might evince Mankind that our restoration to LIFE was fully accomplished.

Thus, in the case of the man possessed in the country of the Gadarines,—The Devils, oppressed by the mighty hand of God, and ready to be cast out and sent into a place of torment, confess the superiority of their conqueror, and proclaim him to be the promised MESSIAH, at a time when he concealed this part of his Character, and was not certainly known by it even amongst his Disciples.

If it be asked, why the Devils proclaimed it? The answer is easy: It was to impede, or to cut off, the course of his appointed Ministry. On this account Jesus checks, or enjoins silence to them. Indeed, had all the attestation given by our Saviour to *real possessions* been no stronger than that which he gave in answer to those who said, He cast out Devils by Baalzebub, namely, that then, *Baalzebub's kingdom being divided within itself, must be brought to destruction*\*, the argument might be thought

\* Matt. xii. 24, & seq.

to labour a little : for if the power and operation of *Satan* or *Baalzebub* was a groundless fancy, as our Philosophers pretend, Jesus may not unreasonably be thought to argue *ad hominem* ; which a Messenger from God might do without impeachment of his Character, though the concession on which he reasons were not strictly conformable to the reality of things. But when such a Messenger commands the Devils, whom he pretends to have cast out, not to discover his office or character, this is going a length, if there was no Devil in the case, which a Messenger from the God of Truth could never, surely, be authorised to engage in.

If we turn from Satan's *temptation* of Jesus to his cruel treatment of the Jews, we shall still find the same strong marks of *real agency*.

Be it granted, that both the Jews and Gentiles of that time were grown very fanciful and superstitious concerning *diabolic possessions*, and, consequently, that they often mistook *natural* for *supernatural* ma-

ladies ; what follows, but that which we find provided against those false conclusions which weak or licentious men drew from thence ?

The utmost care and attention has been given by the sacred Writers to *mark* out those cases of real possession, which Jesus relieved, by some circumstance not equivocal, or what could not accompany an imaginary or natural disorder.

Thus, in the adventure recorded by three of the Evangelists \*—when Jesus had eased the Demoniac, and his tormentors had obtained leave to go into *a herd of swine* ; what other reason can be given, or, indeed, what better can be conceived, of their extraordinary request on the one hand, or permission on the other, than that this circumstance was to afford a certain MARK to distinguish a REAL from an *imaginary* Possession ?

It is true, that the wild extravagance of human fancy may be able to form chimeras that shall affright the Raiser of them

\* Matt. viii.—Mark v.—Luke viii.

to distraction. Yet Brutes (we all know) have none of this dangerous faculty. Therefore, when we find great numbers of them stimulated, at once, to an instantaneous madness, we must needs conclude, that it was caused by some supernatural Agent, operating on their organs.

So admirably has our indulgent Master been pleased to guard this important Truth against the most plausible evasions of self-conceited men.

The strong impulse of a vitiated fancy, pushed forward by superstition, might be supposed able, without other agency, to produce these very extraordinary appearances.

To cut off, therefore, all escape from a forced concession of the mighty hand of God, compelling his most *averse* Creatures to acknowledge his Sovereignty, here are two cases obtruded on the most incredulous : The one is, SATAN's temptation of the Messiah ; the other is, his *Possession* of brute Animals : In neither of which cases hath the *powers of imagination* any place. In the *first*, the divine Patient was above  
their

their delusions; in the *other*, the Brutal was as much below them.

If we turn from the FACTS which the Evangelists have recorded, to the EXPRESSIONS which they have employed, we shall have further reason to rest satisfied with the ancient interpretation.

The text says,—*They brought unto him all sick people, that were taken with divers diseases and torments: and THOSE WHICH WERE POSSESSED WITH DEVILS, and LUNATICS; and he healed them.*

Here we find, that the disorder of those who are said to be POSSESSED WITH DEVILS, is precisely distinguished, not only from natural diseases and torments in general, but likewise from LUNACY in particular; that very disorder which the Antidemoniast is so willing to confound with supernatural agitations. Is it possible, therefore, to believe, that a Writer of any meaning, at the very time he is distinguishing Lunacy from *diabolical Possessions*, should confound these two disorders with one another? Yet, this is what these licentious Critics make him do, in compliance (they

tell us) with an accustomed mode of speech. On the contrary, is it not certain, that the sacred Writer was the more intent to represent them as two very different disorders, for this very reason, their having many symptoms in common ? a circumstance which hath made these men solicitous to *confound* what the Evangelist was careful to *distinguish*.

In a word, they who, after all these precautions taken by St. Matthew, and the rest, can believe that *Devils* and *Demoniacs* were used only as terms of accommodation, may well believe (as some of them profess to do) that the terms *Sacrifice*, *Redemption*, and *Satisfaction*, come of no better a House than one of the common figures of speech \*.

### III.

We now come to the third and last Class of MIRACLES which, we say, demand the assent of every reasonable man, when proposed to him with full evidence of the Fact.

\* See note [L], at the end of this Book.

Of this kind are the *Miracles* in which the Deity immediately interposes, to vindicate the Credit of his own Predictions, when impious men have publicly combined to defeat and dishonour them.

The most eminent of this Class was the *miraculous* interposition of Heaven, which defeated JULIAN's attempt to rebuild THE JEWISH TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

When God found it expedient or necessary, in order to preserve the Memory and keep up the Knowledge of himself amidst a corrupt world, running headlong into Polytheism and Idolatry, he chose a single Family, which, when spread out into a Nation or People, was to become the public repository of his holy Name, till the fulness of time should come, when, as he *promised by himself, all the earth should be filled with the glory of the Lord* \*.

This family was of the seed of Abraham; which, in compliance with the religious notions of those times, he was pleased to adopt for his peculiar People, under the idea of their *tutelar* Deity, or the *God of Abra-*

\* Numbers xiv. 21.



*ham, Isaac, and Jacob*; and, the more effectually to secure the great end of their separation, assumed, likewise, the title and office of their KING or CIVIL GOVERNOR; having, first of all, communicated himself to them, as the Maker and Governor of the Universe.

Hence, the RELIGION he gave unto this People came under the idea of a LAW; and the LAW, amongst them, was, in the strictest sense, RELIGION, as having all the sanctions of a divine Command.

From this short account of the JEWISH CONSTITUTION it appears, that RELIGION, which, elsewhere, had properly and justly *particulars only* for its subjects, had here the nation or community. And what, elsewhere (as far as concerns the divine origin of Religion), is only a *private* matter, was here a public. For the Deity being both their *tutelary God* and *Civil Governor*, the proper object of his care was, in either capacity, the collective Body.

Hence it follows, that the principal Rites of the Hebrew *Religion* and *Law* were to be performed in some determined Place.

For

For the ideas of a *tutelary* God and *civil* Governor implied a local Residence ; and a *national act*, arising from the relations springing out of these qualities, required a fixed and certain habitation for its celebration ; and both together seemed to mark out the Capital of the Country for that use.

Such a practice, which the nature and reason of things so evidently point out, the Institutes of the Jewish Law expressly direct and enjoin.

During the early and unsettled times of the Republic, the Sacrifices prescribed by its Ritual were directed to be offered up at the door of an ambulatory *Tabernacle* ; but when the People had perfected the Establishment ordained for them, and a magnificent TEMPLE was erected for religious Worship, then their SACRIFICES were to be offered in that place at Jerusalem only.

Now, SACRIFICES constituting the essentials of their Worship, their *Religion* could not be said to exist longer than that celebration continued. But *Sacrifices* were to be performed in no place out of the  
I
Walls

Walls of their TEMPLE. So that when this *holy place* was finally destroyed, according to the prophetic predictions, the INSTITUTION itself became abolished. Nor. was any thing more consonant to the genius of this Religion, than the assigning such a celebration of its principal Rites. The Temple would exist while they remained a People, and continued Sovereign. And when their Sovereignty was lost, the Temple-worship became precarious, and subject to the arbitrary pleasure of their Masters — They destroyed this Temple: but it was not till it had lost its use. For the Rites, directed to be there celebrated, were relative to them only as a free-policed People.

So that this was, in reality, a total EXTINCTION of the Jewish Worship. How wonderful are the ways of God! This came to pass at that very period when a *new Revelation* from Heaven concurred with the blind transactions of civil policy, to supersede the LAW by the introduction of the GOSPEL: the last great work which completed the Scheme of HUMAN REDEMPTION.

To

To confound this admirable order of Providence, was what induced the EMPEROR JULIAN to attempt the REBUILDING the JEWISH TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM. The vanity of the attempt could be only equalled by its impiety : for it was designed TO GIVE THE LIE TO GOD, who, by the mouth of his Prophets, had foretold that it should never be rebuilt. Here then was the most important occasion for a miraculous interposition, as it was to defeat this mad attempt. And thus in fact it was defeated, to the admiration of all mankind.

But as a large and full account of the whole affair hath been already given to the Public, in a Work entituled—JULIAN, *or a Discourse concerning the Earthquake and fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's Attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem* ; thither I refer the learned Reader, who will there meet with all the various evidence of the Fact, abundantly sufficient to support and establish it ; together with a full confutation of all the cavils opposed to its certainty and necessity.

To conclude this subject with a recapitulation of what I undertook to prove, namely, that the **MIRACLES** in the Christian Dispensation, which exact credit of reasonable men, may be all comprised under one or other of these Divisions, viz.

**I.** Under that **SPECIES OF MIRACLES** which serves for **CREDENTIALS** to the **MISSION** of Jesus Christ and his first Disciples and Followers.

**II.** Or under that which makes an essential part in the integrity or completion of the Gospel System.

**III.** Or, lastly, under that in which the Deity immediately interposes, to vindicate the credit of his own predictions, when impious Men have entered into a combination to defeat and dishonour them.

Not that it is my purpose positively to brand, as **FALSE**, every pretended Miracle recorded in ecclesiastical and civil History, which wants this favourable capacity of being reduced to one or other of the *Species* explained above. All that I contend for is,  
that

that those Miracles, still remaining unsupported by the nature of that Evidence which I have shewn ought to force conviction from every reasonable Mind, should be at present excluded from the privilege of that conviction.

Indeed the greater part may be safely given up, for idle and knavish tales of monkish invention.

Of the rest, which yet stand undiscredited by any considerable marks of Imposture, we may safely suspend our belief, till time hath afforded further lights to direct our judgment.

Nor will the confining our Assent to *Miracles*, thus brought within the limits of an apparent SUFFICIENT CAUSE, be less beneficial to *Religion* in general, than it is subversive of the vain *Philosophy* in vogue, which attempts to discredit all extraordinary interpositions of Providence whatsoever, as we shall now shew.

1. The bringing MIRACLES within these bounds will afford a mark of distinction, never to be effaced, between those of the GOSPEL, and those which PAGANISM and  
its

its *Advocates* object to us. For I may venture to affirm, that, amongst those pretended Miracles in the Pagan World, there cannot be found one that carries along with it any thing that bears the least resemblance to a SUFFICIENT CAUSE. And there is strong reason to believe, that the Deity, without such an occasion, would never interfere amongst the Gentiles ; because such an interposition would, besides the vanity of it, have a natural and direct tendency to rivet men in their idolatry.

But the principal use of confining MIRACLES within these bounds will be the giving an immediate check to FRAUD and SUPERSTITION, when in their full career, to abuse and enslave a foolish World. For that strange infirmity of the human mind, viz. *a fondness for the MARVELLOUS* (begot by a misconception of nature, and nursed by the pride of self-importance), always made the deluded multitude thankless and averse to those who would bring them to their senses ;

—*Cui sic extorta voluptas.*

And

And if Men be so fond of the *Marvellous* for the mere pleasure of the ADMIRATION which it creates, what must be their zeal to propagate those *strange things*, in which Religion is supposed to be concerned? Every disorderly passion now conspires to blot and deform the fair face of Nature with Prodigies and Portents.

Such frightful Visions, even the earliest Ages of Christianity raised up. *The Prodigies of ANTICHRIST* (says the Apostle) *have been after the working of Satan, with POWERS and SIGNS and LYING WONDERS* \*.

This, it is true, should make THEOLOGIANS cautious; but it should not make our PHILOSOPHERS presumptuous or vain. For even these Intimados of Nature know no more of Her than what lies just before them, in common with those whom they most affect to despise: And all they know, if not a MIRACLE, is yet a MYSTERY.

Let these her Closet-acquaintance *steal*, as they are able, to her inmost recesses,

\* 2 Thess. ii. 9.



they *can bring nothing* from thence concerning God's natural and moral Government, as the Poet finely expresses it,

— BUT UNDECYPHERED CHARACTERS,

which only teach us the need we have of a better Decypherer, than that REASON on which these men so proudly rely.

## C H A P. VI.

**B**UT now, besides these extraordinary Gifts, properly called **MIRACLES**, with which the first Preachers of the *Gospel* were intrusted, for its more speedy propagation, they were endowed with another, and more complicated kind of supernatural Power, namely **PROPHECY**, in which a **MIRACULOUS** power was eminently included.

With **PROPHECY**, or with that simpler species of divine Virtue, **MIRACLES**, was the Church of Christ at that time supplied; as one or the other was best suited to the various uses of Religion.

In

In explaining this matter, which the importance of the subject requires us to do more at large, it will be necessary just to repeat what has been observed before ; that, in the first propagation of a *new Religion* from Heaven, the Will of God must be attested by MIRACLES ; since nothing less than this instant Evidence is sufficient to assure us of its divine original.

But when this hath been fully and largely afforded, the *power of Miracles* (where *Miracles* do not make a constant and essential part in the nature of the *Dispensation*, as they did in the *Jewish*) is with good reason withdrawn from the Servants and Ministers of Religion : And the CHURCH is from thenceforth left, at least for some time, to support itself on the TRADITIONAL EXEMPLIFICATION of this evidence ; something less forcible than the ORIGINAL RECORD, of which the first and better ages of Christianity had been in possession.

But by the time this MIRACULOUS power began to fail, another was preparing to supply its place, of still greater efficacy ; I mean, that of PROPHECY.

For the sovereign Master, who no less manifests his constant PRESENCE to the *moral* than to the *physical* government of the World, has been graciously pleased to give to the *later* ages of the Church more than an equivalent for what he had bestowed upon the *earlier*, in beginning to shower down on his chosen servants of the NEW COVENANT the riches of PROPHECY as the power of working MIRACLES abated. So early, I say, was this preparation made for that stronger and more lasting support; a support not yet, indeed, improved into *Evidence*; nor was the *Evidence* wanted, while *Miracles*, in a sort, remained. Besides, it could not, in the nature of things, become *Evidence*, till some time after its first enunciation: for till the more considerable events of a PROPHECY, which contained the future and later fortunes of the *Gospel*, had arisen, and been brought, by degrees, into EXISTENCE, the *Prophecy* could afford no conviction of its truth.

Yet, in this wonderful disposition of things, we see the *divine Hand* by which they were conducted.

To

To proceed. PROPHECIES were now more clearly and simply, now more obscurely and enigmatically enounced, just as the nature of the subject or the circumstances of the time required.—Yet still we have ventured to call PROPHECY a stronger and more lasting Evidence than MIRACLES. And this will deserve our attention. The evidence from MIRACLES seems, by its nature, to lessen somewhat by time; while that from PROPHECY gathers strength by it, and grows more and more convictive, till the gradual and full completion of all its parts makes the splendour of it irresistible.

Hence the wisdom of the divine Disposer is still further seen, in making PROPHECY, not only the *strongest*, but the LAST and CONCLUDING Evidence of a *Religion*, which, as it was the completion of the whole scheme of REVELATION, so having (as it would seem) the largest portion of its course yet to run, that species of Evidence which does not lose, but gain strength, by time, was best fitted to accompany it to its utmost period.

But to go on with our more general reflections on the whole.

THIS DOUBLE EVIDENCE, in support of *Revealed Religion*, hath always been the same throughout every mode of God's moral Dispensations. The records of sacred History confirm this Truth.

Under the Jewish œconomy, although MIRACLES, by reason of the peculiar form of the Republic, were necessarily attendant on its administration, throughout a course of many ages (that is, during all the time in which the affairs of this people were conducted by an *extraordinary Providence*), yet God's inspired Servants were, together with the power of working MIRACLES, endowed with the gift of PROPHECY. For, although the *extraordinary Providence*, and consequently MIRACLES, which made a part of it, continued much longer than would have been necessary, had MIRACLES amongst the Jews been of no other use than they were in the Christian Church, viz. to evidence the divinity of the Revelation; yet as *that Providence*, and consequently this *miraculous* attendant on it, were to cease  
long

long before the abolition of the THEOCRACY; the other evidence of PROPHECY, in the absence of MIRACLES, was graciously bestowed on the Jewish Church likewise.

Hence the inspired Ministers of it, DANIEL in particular, foretold more circumstantially and minutely than the rest, the various fortunes of that Church and Republic, from its decay, in their own times, to the entire dissolution of it by the introduction of a better SYSTEM.

In the like manner St. JOHN, under the NEW COVENANT, did, by the same divine Spirit, predict the fortunes of the *Christian Church*, from the flourishing condition of it, in his own time, through all the disasters of the corrupt ages that followed, to the happy consummation of all things.

In both cases, for the reasons above given, PROPHECY could not be urged as instant evidence, at the time it was delivered, but was kept entire and reserved for the use of those ages, when MIRACLES having long ceased in the *Christian Church*, and were declining in the *Jewish*, seemed to need this other and further support.

From all these, and from many other considerations to be further urged, it will appear, that, of this double Evidence to the truth of Revelation, viz. MIRACLES and PROPHECY, the latter, as we have said, is of superior force and efficacy.

We have already shewn its superiority in gaining by *Time* what the other loses. This advantage is further seen by its being less subject to the mistakes and fallacious impressions of *sense* than *Miracles* are.

But as this is a matter of much importance, it may be proper to explain and verify the assertion.

Both MIRACLES and PROPHECIES are indeed appeals to the *Senses*, but with this difference, that MIRACLES, however illustrious, such as those worked by the first propagators of our holy Religion, are subject to the cavils of Infidelity.

Of this, Dr. Middleton hath afforded a wonderful example; where he insinuates, and would seem to persuade us, that the *Voice from Heaven recognizing the Son of God*, was no other than a superstitious fancy of the later Jews called the BATH KOL;

a fan-

a fantastic kind of Divination of their own invention.—As groundless and scandalous as this cavil is, yet it must be owned, that the frame of the animal œconomy, in which a heated imagination is able to work strange appearances in the body, has given some countenance to infidelity, in its sceptical conclusions against *Miracles*. And though we have said enough to free those of the *Gospel*, and some others, confined within the reasonable bounds before laid down, from every imputation of this sort, yet *Miracles* being, by their very nature, open and liable to abusive interpretations, and *Prophecy* well secured from them, for this, and for the more weighty reasons given above, we conclude (as the crown of all) with the unerring declaration of the holy Apostle PETER ; who, in his second general Epistle to the Churches, alluding to this *twofold Evidence* for the truth of Revelation, namely MIRACLES and PROPHECY, after he had ended what he thought fit to say of the *first*, proceeds to the *other* in these words—WE HAVE ALSO A MORE SURE  
WORD



WORD OF PROPHECY—ἵχομεν BEBAIOTE-PON τὸν ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΚΟΝ λόγον — *a word, that may be more firmly relied on, and whose existence is more durable.* The word, βεβαιότερον, including both these senses. And we have shewn that the nature of PROPHECY contains these two qualities.

And they being most eminently comprised in the CAPITAL PROPHECY here described and characterised; a more particular explanation of it may be naturally expected in this GENERAL VIEW of the Christian Religion.—

“ We have not followed *cunningly devised fables* (says the Apostle, ver. 16.)  
 “ when we made known unto you the  
 “ COMING AND POWER of our Lord Jesus  
 “ Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his  
 “ Majesty.”

17. “ For he received from God, the  
 “ Father, honour and glory, when there  
 “ was a voice to him, from the exceeding  
 “ glory—This is my beloved Son, in whom  
 “ I am well pleased.”

18. “ And

18. "And this *voice* which came from  
"Heaven, we heard when we were with  
"him in the mount."

19. "WE HAVE ALSO A MORE SURE  
"WORD OF PROPHECY : whereunto ye do  
"well that ye take heed, *as unto a light,*  
"*shining in a dark place, until the day dawn,*  
"*and the day-star arise in your hearts."*

\* There are few places, in the Scriptures  
of the New Testament, plainer than this  
before us; and yet there are none where in-  
terpreters have wandered further from the  
Apostle's meaning †.

This hath been principally owing to a  
mistake of the subject. These Interpreters  
supposed that St. PETER was here speaking  
of the PERSONAL CHARACTER OF JESUS ;  
and thence concluded, that THE MORE  
SURE WORD OF PROPHECY, whereby he  
strengthens his argument, respected the  
*Prophecies* of the OLD TESTAMENT, which  
establish that PERSONAL CHARACTER.

\* From this place to the end, abridged and altered  
from Sermon *On the Rise of Antichrist.* [R. W.

† See the altercations between Bishop Sherlock and  
Dr. Middleton, and their respective Advocates.

But

But the Apostle is treating of a different thing ; namely, of THE TRUTH OF THE GOSPEL IN GENERAL.

Which shews, that *the more sure word of Prophecy* regards a Prophecy of the New TESTAMENT.

One mistake produced, of course, another. For, on supposition, that the *personal Character of Jesus* was the thing meant, it would follow, that *by the power and coming of our Lord*, we are to understand his FIRST COMING ; and then, indeed, *the word of Prophecy* must needs signify a Prophecy ALREADY FULFILLED. But nothing is more certain than that the *Character* here given of that *Prophecy*, to which the Church is admonished to *take heed*, or pay its attention, confines us to one, but now, just beginning to attest its divine original—it is *a light shining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in our hearts* ; that is, till a long series of events (yet in the womb of time) shall arise, to give testimony, by degrees, till the whole evidence concludes in one unclouded blaze of conviction. So that *the*  
*power*

*power and coming of our Lord* must needs mean his SECOND COMING.

Yet amongst the Interpreters just before censured, there are some more eminently absurd \* than the rest. One of these is even desirous to have it believed, that by this *more sure word of Prophecy* is to be understood the Prophecy of ISAIAH, chap. xlii. ver. 1. although the Apostle has characterised this to be *a light shining in a dark place*, &c. i. e. not as convictive evidence at present, yet being a LIGHT, though *shining in a dark place*, it deserved our attention, till greater *lights* should arise, which would afford full conviction.

Now, could this be the *Character* of a Prophecy of the *Old Testament*; especially one of ISAIAH's, most of whose predictions referred to, and had their completion in, JESUS, their great object? The *dawn* and *day-star*, here spoken of by the Apostle, as of a very distant light, was, in the time of that Prophet, already *risen* in the hearts of his countrymen, or it would never rise.

\* See Mr. M.

Let us, therefore, look out for some more reasonable Paraphrase of the sacred Text.—

—“ That you may be assured (says the  
 “ Apostle) we have not *followed cunningly*  
 “ *devised fables*, when we described to you  
 “ the power of our Lord at his SECOND  
 “ COMING, you should recollect what we  
 “ have frequently told you, of his FIRST ;  
 “ having been eye-witnesses of the Majesty  
 “ and *Miracles* attending it, *when there*  
 “ *came a voice to him from the exceed-*  
 “ *ing glory*, &c.—Now, the MIRACLES,  
 “ which accompanied, and confirmed his  
 “ mission, on his FIRST COMING, are sure-  
 “ ly sufficient to gain credit to what we  
 “ have, as often, told you, of his SECOND.  
 “ And, of this capital Truth, God hath  
 “ been graciously pleased to add still stronger  
 “ evidence; by giving us A MORE SURE  
 “ WORD OF PROPHECY.”

—But the *general* subject of the EPISTLE will further support the truth of this Paraphrase.

—It is a farewell address to the CHURCHES, on his having received intimation, from  
 the

the *holy Spirit*, of his approaching Martyrdom.

The Apostle begins with repeating to them [from ver. 3d to the 15th] that elegant summary 'of Christian Religion \*', as was his wont, on all occasions, to inculcate. But, at this juncture, CONSOLATION being what the afflicted Church most needed, he takes his topic from the REWARDS, now supposed to be approaching, at the *second coming of our Lord* in the consummation of all things. PERSECUTION had soothed the Sufferers into this flattering error, which was now become general, and not likely to be soon redressed, while they continued unable (as they yet were) to distinguish the *two parts* of which this PREDICTION, concerning the *second coming* of our Lord, was composed. Each part had its distinct completion, commencing at different periods. The *first*, when our Lord came to judgement, on the JEWISH PEOPLE, in putting a complete period to their OECONOMY, by the destruction of their TEMPLE ;

\* See the Sermon on this text.

The *other*, when he was to pass judgement on the whole race of mankind, and make a final end of the MUNDANE SYSTEM.

Or rather, to speak with more exactness, this prediction of the SECOND COMING was delivered in *two Prophecies* joined together; and, in imitation of the Jewish mode, mixed and interwoven with one another; generally as little understood, at the time of the delivery, as all those of a like import were, which had either a *secondary sense*, or included a *double subject*. But for a larger account of these, and particularly of the sort now in question, I beg leave to refer the Reader to the *sixth Section of the sixth Book* of this Work.

Such was the *Error*, which (as we say) gave birth to the *consolatory Epistle* here explained. But as all ERRORS, together with the accidental *good*, which, by the directing hand of Providence, they are made to produce, are easily attended with much evil; so it was here.

At first, the *Error* produced sobriety, vigilance, and perseverance in the FAITH. But afterwards, it had a contrary effect.

*There shall come in the last days* (says this Apostle) *scoffers, working after their own lusts, and saying, WHERE IS THE PROMISE OF HIS COMING ? For since the Fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation* \*.

After the censure of this Impiety, the Apostle proceeds to upbraid their ignorance of the natural constitution of the Earth ; which is physically ordained to bring on its own destruction, by FIRE, in some future period ; as heretofore, by the destruction of WATER : and that the *delay* of this dreadful Catastrophe, which affords these scoffs of Impiety, is not owing to the Lord's *slackness* in the performance of his *promise* ; but to his *long-suffering* ; that all might come to *repentance* †. He then describes this final dissolution of all things, by *fire* ‡. Out of which (he tells them) shall arise (according to the promise of PROPHECY) *a new heaven and a new earth, wherein shall dwell righteousness* §. And with this the FAREWELL EPISTLE concludes.

\* Chap. iii. 3, & seq.  
† Ver. 10, 11, 12.

† Ver. 9.  
§ Ver. 13.



Such being the subject of it, who can doubt but that a true account of the reasoning in the latter part of the *first* chapter is here given ? and, consequently, that the Apostle's purpose is not to speak of indefinite *Prophecies already fulfilled* IN, OR UNDER, the OLD TESTAMENT, but of some precise Prophecy *to be fulfilled* under the NEW ; in order as the several parts of it (extending through a course of many Ages) should come into existence.

TO THIS the Church of Christ is bid to TAKE HEED, as to *a more sure word of Prophecy*. But had the description ended here, it would have been much too vague to enjoin our attention in so earnest and particular a manner. The Apostle, therefore, goes on to give it this characteristic Mark—that it was A LIGHT SHINING IN A DARK PLACE. A *Prophecy*, of which the principal parts were, at that time, surrounded and partly involved in obscurity and darkness ; but yet, emitting so many scattered Rays, as to make a careful observer inclined to think some great scene was just beginning to open, which would amply reward our  
atten-

attention to this *light shining in a dark place*, by the change of its condition, first into a *dawn*; and then, into still clearer *day-spring*.

The Apostle having thus prepared our way to this **SURER WORD**, or superior excellence of **PROPHECY**, proceeds to acquaint us with the very **IDENTICAL PROPHECY** he had in his eye; which will now appear to be no other than the predictions of *St. Paul* and *St. John* concerning **ANTI-CHRIST**, or the future fortunes of the *Church*, under the usurpation of the **MAN OF SIN**; a prediction elegantly called, by way of eminence, **THE WORD OF PROPHECY**. For this *Man of Sin* began to *work* before the writing of this farewell Epistle. So *St. Paul* assures us—**THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY** (says he) **DOETH ALREADY WORK** \*. *St. Peter*, therefore, towards the conclusion of his Epistle, recurring again, as his subject required, to God's long-suffering, in the delay of his *second coming* to judge the world, adds, *even as our beloved PAUL also, according to the WISDOM given*

\* 2 The.T. ii. 7.

*unto him, hath written unto you : as also in all his Epistles, SPEAKING IN THEM OF THESE THINGS IN WHICH ARE SOME THINGS HARD TO BE UNDERSTOOD, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction* \*. Now what are these **OBSCURE PARTS** in St. Paul's Epistles, here characterised, but the *Prophecies* in St. John's Book of the **REVELATIONS** concerning **ANTICHRIST** †, abridged by St. *Paul* in his Epistles, and referred to by St. *Peter* ‡. . .

\* Chap. iii. 15, 16.

† See Sir Isaac Newton's Observations upon the Apocalypse of St. John, chap. i.

‡ See the remainder of this argument in Discourse  
*On the Rise of Antichrist.* R. W.

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NOTES ON BOOK IX.

P. 63. [A]. **O**N this Point it will be sufficient to refer the reader to those two excellent Writers, Dr. Samuel Clarke and Mr. W. Baxter, for a full Demonstration of the *immateriality* of that Substance, in which the faculties of sense and reflexion reside. [See Clarke's Tracts against Dodwell and Collins, and Baxter on the Nature of the Soul.] These Writers have gone much further than Locke and others on the same Subject ; who contented themselves with shewing *the possibility, nay, great probability, that the thinking substance in us is immaterial.* [See Locke's Second Reply to the Bishop of Worcester, p. 600. of his Works.] But Clarke and Baxter have clearly proved, from the *discovered* qualities of a thinking Being, that the Soul cannot possibly be *material*, whatever *undiscovered* qualities it may be possessed

of. And this conclusion was made (in my opinion) neither rashly nor at random. For, to unsettle our assurance in the truth of their Opinion, their Adversaries must shew that such *undiscovered* qualities are contrary to the qualities *discovered*; yet contrary qualities can never subsist together in the same substance, without one destroying the other. Hence, we understand the futility of Mr. Locke's *superinduction of the faculty of thinking to a system of Matter*; conceived, by that excellent Writer, in the modest fear of circumscribing Omnipotence; but Omnipotence is not circumscribed by denying its power of making qualities, destructive of one another, to reside in the same substance (for a power which produces nothing is no exercise of power); but by denying his power to change, together with consistent qualities, the *nature* of the substance in which those qualities reside. This power (supposing Mr. Locke contended for no more) will be readily granted; but his argument will gain nothing by it. On the contrary, by changing *materiality* into *immateriality*, it ends the dispute with the Bishop; but to Mr. Locke's disadvantage, by proving, that the Soul, or thinking Substance in us, is *immaterial*.

P. 86. [B]. The impious notion of the human Soul's being part or portion of the Divine Substance, made the *Theistical* Philosophers give no credit to the Doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments. [See the Divine Legation, Vol. II. B. 3. Sec. 4.] To avoid this impiety, certain Christian Enthusiasts taught that *eternity* was the condition of the Soul by *nature* as well as by *grace*. And so, before they were aware, fell into the very error of the Philosophers, which they were so anxious to avoid. For *eternity* being confessed by all to be one of the attributes of the Deity, it followed, that the human soul was indeed part or portion of the Divine Substance. This execrable frenzy, of which Religion could never get entirely free, (known by the name of SPINOZISM) hath of late appeared under its ugliest form in the Writings of Mr. W. Law, collected from the exploded ravings of Jacob Behmen. [See a book, intituled, An Appeal to all who doubt or disbelieve the truths of the Gospel.]—But when learned men wake out of one delirium, it is not to recover their senses, but to fall back again into another; and that, generally, is its opposite. So it was here. The Philosophic Converts to the Christian Faith, in the first ages of the Church, were no sooner convinced of the folly of fancying

that *the human Soul was a Part of the Godhead*, than in their haste to be at distance from that monstrous opinion, they ran suddenly into a contrary folly, and maintained, that the Soul had not one spark of the Divinity in her whole composition; but was MATERIAL as well as mortal: now degrading man to a brute, whom before they had exalted to a God. Nor hath this extravagance been destitute of (for what extravagance hath ever wanted) the patronage of modern Divines. We have seen it lately employed in support of a fresh whimsy, viz. THE SLEEP OF THE SOUL. One thing however seems to be defective in the Scheme; which is, the not rectifying the old error of a RESURRECTION. For, I apprehend, that when a MATERIAL Soul is once gone to Sleep, nothing but a RE-CREATION can awake it.

P. 100. [C]. Other *death* had been understood, viz. *Eternal life in misery*. But, to see what ill use hath been made of this portentous comment, we need only attend to *Collins* in his *discourse of free-thinking*. “ We learn in the “ *Old Testament*, (says he) that Adam by eating “ the forbidden fruit subjected himself and all “ his Posterity to death. But the *New Testa-* “ *ment* TEACHES US TO UNDERSTAND, by *death*, “ *eternal life in misery*; and from thence, we “ know

“know that GOD HAD BUT ONE WAY to put  
 “mankind in a capacity of enjoying immortal  
 “happiness.” p. 153. Having given, in this  
 buffoon manner, so absurd and monstrous a pic-  
 ture of REDEMPTION, (to the composition of  
 which the School Divines had greatly contri-  
 buted) he, and his free-thinking colleagues,  
 hoped that their Doctrine of *Christianity's being*  
*only a republication of the Religion of Nature*  
 would go down the easier. And they well  
 enough understood how to manage that un-  
 scriptural error to their advantage; as may be  
 seen by Tindal's book, intituled, Christianity  
 as old as the Creation; which combats the  
 Christian Revelation, under cover of the absurd  
 concessions of certain latitudinarian Divines of  
 a later date. These concessions, Tindal mis-  
 calls the PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY. Hence  
 this formidable book became one continued  
 thread of contemptible sophistry from beginning  
 to end. Yet I remember the time when the  
 false terror of it alarmed the whole body of the  
 Clergy, for the *danger* of the Church, who were  
 but just recovered from the *Sacheverell-crisis*.

P. 101. [D]. The REMONSTRANTS, fear-  
 ing that this interpretation of the text might  
 give countenance to the School-doctrine of  
 ORIGINAL SIN, deny that *Infants* are here meant  
 by



by *those who had not sinned, &c.* But the fear is vain. It was *death*, and not *damnation*, which reigned from *Adam to Moses*. The expression—*Καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς μὴ ἁμαρτήσαντας, &c.*—implies it was a part only of the human species which was free from *sinning after the similitude of Adam's transgression*; or *the being without sin*. And what part could this be but the infantine?

P. 123. [E]. It is true, that notwithstanding the conformity of this language in the *Revelations* to that of Peter and to the Gospel of John, some Critics, and particularly Grotius, would have the text in the *Apocalypse*, which says,—*all that dwell upon the Earth shall worship him whose names are not written in the Book of Life, of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world*—to be thus understood—*The Book of Life written from the foundation of the World*—and not as here translated—*Christ slain from the foundation of the World*. However, both the one and the other sense infers the same truth; for if *the Book of Life* [of the Lamb slain] *was written from the foundation of the world*, it is plain, that the *Lamb slain*, or the *sacrifice* of his death, *was pre-ordained from the foundation of the World*.

P. 129. [F.] The reason why Jesus, at the first publication of the Gospel, refers so little to the FALL, which concerned all mankind, and  
so

so much to his MESSIAHSHIP, which directly concerned only the Jews, is apparent; his Mission was first directed to the *house of Israel*. He left his Apostles to carry on their Ministry of the Gospel, to the *Gentiles*. Hence St. Paul, who was more eminently *the Apostle of the Gentiles*, is so explicit in his account of the RESTORATION FROM THE FALL. This furnished a handle to Lord Bolingbroke to affirm, with equal ignorance and malice, that—*Paul preached a NEW GOSPEL, different from that of Jesus.*

P. 158. [G]. A learned and serious Writer\*, in a late book, intituled, *Observations and Enquiries relating to the various parts of ancient History* †, hath a chapter concerning HUMAN SACRIFICES; which he thus introduces—*One would think it scarce possible that so unnatural a custom as that of HUMAN SACRIFICES should have existed in the world. But it is certain, that it did not only exist, but almost universally prevail* ‡. Our account of the origin of this *unnatural custom* will much abate the wonder. However, the learned Writer solves the difficulty with much ease; by deriving it from the *Command to Abraham*. And here, before I enter on the matter, permit me to repeat, what I have before

\* Mr. Bryant.

† Printed in quarto, 1767.

‡ P. 267.

observed,

observed, that it indicates an odd turn of mind (however general it may be), which disposes the Learned to seek for the origin of the superstitious rites of antiquity, rather in the casual adventures of particular men, than in the uniform workings of our common nature \*.

But the learned Writer fancies his solution is much strengthened by the general notion of Antiquity, that the *ANΘΡΩΠΟΘΥΣΙΑ* was a *Mystical Sacrifice*. Let us examine his reasoning on this head. Mr. Bryant having given us, from the fragment of Sanchoniatho, what relates to IL or KRONUS's sacrifice of his only son (by which, indeed, it appears, that *human Sacrifice* was not a conceit of yesterday; the Author of that fragment plainly deriving his story from this part of the Abrahamic History), goes on in these words, "They [human sacrifices] were  
 "instituted probably in consequence of a *prophetic tradition*, which I imagine had been  
 "preserved in the family of *Esau*; and transmitted, through his posterity, to the people  
 "of Canaan †."

To this, let me, first of all, observe, that the supposition of a *prophetic tradition* rests entirely on the truth of *my peculiar idea* of the nature of the command to Abraham, viz. That it was a

\* See the Divine Legation.

† P. 291.

*mere scenical representation, given at the patriarch's earnest request.* For on this idea only could the *command* be considered as a *prophecy*. But this is doing too much honour to my hypothesis, still held, I suppose, by the more orthodox, to be a paradox; and, what is still worse, it greatly weakens the learned Writer's reasoning; for a *scenical representation*, which must naturally end as this did, in a prohibition of the commanded sacrifice, could hardly induce any one, who went upon the grounds, or in consequence of a *prophetic Tradition*, to think that *human Sacrifices* were acceptable to the Deity. But the truth is, *this prophetic Tradition*, in the family of Abraham, is merely *gratis dictum*. We find not the least footsteps of it in the more circumstantial History of the other branch of Abraham's Family, the Patriarchal; which was most concerned to preserve it, had there been any such. Besides, how this *commanded sacrifice*, which was forbidden to be perpetrated, should encourage human sacrifices, before men had steeled themselves, by long use, in the practice of so unnatural a crime, is hard to conceive. It is true, that this argument will lose somewhat of its force, when we suppose the *command* was given to a family which were no strangers to *human Sacrifices*. This is observed purely in  
reverence

reverence to truth ; but, be this as it will, it subverts the fancy of the *Abrahamic original*. For the fact seems to be, that, at the time this *Command* was given to the Patriarch, the Gentile world was deeply plunged into this diabolic Barathrum : which though the descendants of Esau possibly had not escaped, yet the line of Isaac certainly had.

The Mosaic account of the State of Religion in the Abrahamic times, shews that it was extremely depraved. For though the iniquity of the *Amorites was not yet full*\*, yet that of their neighbours, in Sodom and Gomorrah, we know, was. These considerations reasonably induced *Philo the Jew*, in his *Discourse concerning Abraham*, to suppose that *human Sacrifices* were in use before the time of Abraham. And Marham, one of the best modern Critics concerning ancient times, declares, without hesitation, in favour of this humiliating circumstance ; and our admirable Spencer thinks, there is so little reason to ascribe the original of *Infanticide* to the *command to Abraham*, that, unless the History of that command be told very lamely and imperfectly, it affords very strong arguments against that inhuman practice. But it is not generally the way of Scripture to reprobate a

\* Gen. xv. 16.

bad practice before it has been conceived or committed \*. Hence we may fairly collect, that *human Sacrifices* were in use before the *command to Abraham*. But what need we more to prove the fact in question, than this, That, if the account, here given, of the origin and progress of *Sacrifice* be the true (as it hath the fairest claim of being so received, since the first use, and all the gradual abuses of it, till it sunk into the horrid Rite in question, may be understood, and understood only on this simple Principle, the uniform workings of our common nature) human Sacrifices must needs have preceded that æra.

What follows, in the learned Writer, as a strong confirmation of his system, is this, *that CHILD-SACRIFICE* was a type or representation of *SOMETHING TO COME*. Now, if by *Child-sacrifice* he means the *command to Abraham*, this we allow and even contend for. But, if he means that the specific rite of Child-sacrifice

\* Probe novi quamplurimos alia omnia de ritus hujus nefarii fonte sentire, quasi ex Abrahami filium suum offerentis, historia corrupta et depravata profluxissent. Huic autem sententiæ fidem adhibere nescio, cum historia illa nisi planè mutilata, magna præbeat contra morem illum inhumanum argumenta; et verisimile sit multas Gentes liberos suos immolare solitas, de Abrahami exemplo, ne vel fando quicquam audivisse. De Leg. Hebræo, ritualibus, L. 11. C. 13. Sect. 3.

was understood by Sacrificers, either Jewish or Gentile, to be a type or representation of SOMETHING TO COME, I think he speaks without the least proof.—What he adds, one knows not what to make of.—*Child-sacrifice* (says he) *is the only instance of any Sacrifice in the Gentile world which is said to be MYSTICAL.*—For, if by *mystical* he means, *a type of something to come*, this has been answered already. But if by *mystical* we are to understand, what was *so* called by the Gentiles in their Sacrificial Rites, almost all of them were *mystical*; that is, had a meaning subjoined, not obvious, nor intended to be obvious to the uninitiated, or the *Profane*. All their *secret Rites*, in which *Sacrifice* bore a principal part, abounded so much in hidden meanings of this sort, that these Rites were called MYSTERIES by way of eminence.

But if, after all, this ΤΕΚΝΟΘΥΣΙΑ or *Child-sacrifice* had the *plain* meaning which I have given to it, and not the *mystical* of the learned Writer, what becomes of his whole hypothesis?—That it had no other meaning, than the plain one, I appeal to the Authority of an *inspired* Writer. MICAH, without doubt, understood the true Origin, and consequently, the right import of *Child-sacrifice*; and he delivers my sense of it in these words—*Will the Lord*

*be*

*be pleased with ten thousands of Rams; or with ten thousands of Rivers of Oil? SHALL I GIVE MY FIRST-BORN FOR MY TRANSGRESSION: THE FRUIT OF MY BODY FOR THE SIN OF MY SOUL\*?* Here we see, conformably to what I have delivered concerning *Child-sacrifice*, that the idea the Gentiles had of it (for, to the *Gentile*, not to the *Jewish* sacrifices, the Prophet here alludes, as will be shewn hereafter) was simply, and solely, this, *the very highest atonement that man could make for his transgressions*, as it was the offering up what was most dear to the offender. The Prophet, therefore, puts it in the number of *expiatory Sacrifices*. But had that, which the learned Writer contends for, been the true and ancient notion of the *τενωθυσια*, one can hardly think that, at a time when the Prophets were gradually opening the nature of the NEW DISPENSATION, *Micah* would have let slip so fair an occasion of considering it under that Christian idea.

We may now see, for what reason *Child-sacrifice* came to be reckoned a MYSTERIOUS WORSHIP; it was done, to withdraw the observation of the People from so horrid a rite, when considered only in its simple use; for nature is rarely so far debauched, as to behold, with indifference, the violation of its most instinctive appetites.

\* Micah vi. 7.



So that the enormity was to be covered by some far-fetched invention of superior excellence of virtue, which preferred the rights of the Divinity to all human obligations. Thus, when the Worshipers were apt to revolt at *Sacrifices* extremely cruel or libidinous, the Priests secured their own credit, and the honour of their God, by the intervention of a *spiritual meaning*. And *human Sacrifices* became *mysterious* for the same reason that the impudent procession of the *Phallus*, in the corrupted Rites of Bacchus and Osiris, was taught to convey the high matters of REGENERATION, and a *new life*.

I have been the longer on this question, because, if human Sacrifices should be thought to have had their original from the *Command to Abraham*, it might seem to give some colour (which was far from the intention of this very learned and worthy man) to the calumny of the Deists, who assert, that HUMAN SACRIFICES MADE A PART OF THE MOSAIC RITUAL. For if the *τεχνουργία* prefigured the *Sacrifice on the Cross*, or, as the learned Writer expresseth it, *was a type or representation of something to come*, it softens a little this infidel Paradox. The Poet VOLTÁIRE hath repeated the calumny over and over, as if the Bible was still shut up, not only from the people in general, but (what, perhaps, would

would have been attended with less injury to Religion) from THESE POETS in particular.

And now, this more serious question (in the midst of one less important, viz. *the origin and progress of sacrifice in general*) will deserve a severe examination.

VOLTAIRE, in a thing he calls, "An Essay on "general History," accuses the Law, in these Words—— "The Jewish Law seems to permit "these [human] Sacrifices. It is said in Leviticus, that *none devoted which shall be devoted "of men shall be redeemed, but shall surely be put "to death* \*." The Jewish Books bear evidence, that when the Israelites over-ran the little country of Canaan, they massacred in most of the villages, men, women, and children, because they had been DEVOTED. On this Law it was that "*Jephtha sacrificed his daughter* †."

\* Lev. xxvii. 29.

† La Loi des Juifs sembleroit permettre ces Sacrifices. Il est dit dans Levitique ; *si une ame vivante a été promise à DIEU, on ne pourra la racheter, il faut qu'elle meure.* Les Livres des Juifs reportent que quand ils envoloient le petit pais des Cananéens, ils massacrèrent dans plusieurs villages, les hommes, les femmes, les enfans—parce qu'ils avoient été devoués. C'est sur cette Loi qui furent fondez les sermens de *Jephthé* qui sacrifia sa fille, &c. Oeuvres de M. de Voltaire, Tom. xiii. p. 227. 8 Ed. 1786, 8vo.

1. This whole calumny I shall clear away, first of all, by the most express prohibitions of the Law, together with the declarations of the PROPHETS; both of which execrate every species of *human Sacrifice*.

2. And then examine and explain all those passages of Scripture, which seem to have given a handle to this impious charge.

3. Concluding, in the third place, with a confutation of that censure of inhumanity towards the inhabitants of Canaan urged by Voltaire, to support his main accusation of HUMAN SACRIFICES, and urged as if it were itself in the number of such Sacrifices.

### I.

In my entrance on the first head, let me previously observe, that the earliest direction for SANCTIFICATION, that is (in the language of Moses) for SACRIFICE, is of the *first-born*, expressed in these words\* : SANCTIFY unto me all the first-born, whatsoever openeth the womb amongst the children of Israel, both of man and beast; it is MINE. This is declared to be for a memorial of God's smiting Egypt in favour of his chosen people.—All the first-born of the Children of Israel are MINE, both man and beast: on the day

\* Exod. xiii. 2.

that I smote the first-born in the land of Egypt, I SANCTIFIED them for myself\*.

• But from this *Sanctification* or SACRIFICE, Man and unclean animals were excepted, and redeemed. The redemption of the first-born of man is thus settled and explained—"I have taken (says the text) the LEVITES for all the FIRST-BORN of the Children of Israel: and I have given the Levites as a gift to Aaron and his Sons, to do the service of the children of Israel, in the tabernacle of the Congregation†."

The redemption of the first-born of unclean animals, with a repetition of the redemption of Men, is thus expressed:—*Every firstling of an ass shalt thou redeem with a Lamb—and all the first-born of man amongst thy Children shalt thou redeem ‡.* The redemption-money, for both, is given to Aaron and his Successors §; to whom the whole tribe of Levi was assigned for a vicarious (and in lieu of a more general) *sanctification* of the first-born of man.

This redemption was not on account of personal favour to a chosen people, but in abhorrence of HUMAN SACRIFICES, as appears plainly both from the LAW and the PROPHETS.

\* Numb. viii. 17.—and Exod. xiii. 14, 15.

† V. 18, 19, and to the same purpose, iii. 12, 13—45.

‡ Exod. xiii. 13. § Numb. xviii. 15, 16.

Moses, on his delivery of the LAW, thus solemnly forbids all curious enquiry concerning the Pagan rites of Worship, in the Nations round about them : *Inquire not after their Gods, saying how did these nations serve their Gods ?* EVEN SO WILL I DO LIKEWISE. The reason of the prohibition follows, they practised the horrid enormity of *Child-sacrifice*—*For every abomination to the Lord WHICH HE HATETH, have they done unto their Gods ;* FOR EVEN THEIR SONS AND THEIR DAUGHTERS HAVE THEY BURNT IN THE FIRE TO THEIR GODS \*. The dangerous curiosity here restrained, was not on account of the number and nature of the Gods of Canaan. For the striking absurdity of their *Theogony* or original, and the impiety of their *Mythology* or history, would have served to attach the Israelites more firmly to the LAW. The prohibition only respected an inquiry into the Canaanitish *modes of worship*, or, as it is better expressed in the text,—*How these nations served their Gods*. And though this inquiry might, at first, arise from nothing else than a wanton curiosity, yet the Legislator intimates that it would end in apostacy from the LORD OF HOSTS—*even so will we do likewise ;* that is, we will use those Pagan rites in the service of the God of Israel ; for they were little

\* Deut. xii. 30.

in danger, so early, to use Canaanitish rites in the service of the Gods of Canaan. Besides, the caution here is not against IDOLATRY, but INFANTICIDE. Nor could they be much disposed to forsake the God of Israel for the Gods of Canaan, at the very time they were so successfully marching, under the auspices of Moses, to exterminate that devoted people. He therefore could scarce conceive that, at this time, they needed such a caution. For, the reason he gives for restraining this hurtful inquiry is, lest they should worship their own God with Pagan rites; especially this most abominable of all, INFANTICIDE. And there was the more need of this caution, since the *first-born of man and beast*, in Israel, were to be *sanctified to the Lord*; and though the first-born of man was redeemed, while the first-born of the *clean beasts* were sacrificed, yet the love of corrupt and idolatrous Rites might give some propensity to a fatal mistake, and to slip in *Sacrifice* instead of *sanctification*.

Afterwards, when the Israelites became polluted with the infernal stains of *Infanticide*, the PROPHETS never ceased to proclaim aloud God's abhorrence of this impiety. For, in order to impress upon the paganised or apostate Israelites a due sense of their frequent defections, it was found necessary for these his messengers tho-

roughly to probe the consciences of such hardened wretches, which had been seared with the *fires of Molech*.

Sacred History informs us, how severely *Abaz* was punished for his multiplied Idolatries; but principally for his “burning his Children in the fire, after the abominations of the Hea- then [the Canaanites], whom the Lord had cast out before the Children of Israel †.”—*They sacrificed* (says the Psalmist) *their sons and their daughters unto Devils—the Idols of Conaan—and the Land was polluted with blood—insomuch that he abhorred his own inheritance †.*—“They have built the high places of Baal (says Jeremiah) to burn their Sons with fire, for burnt-offerings to Baal †.” And again—*they caused their Sons and their Daughters to pass through the fire, to Molech §.* Ezekiel, likewise, accuseth them of having caused their *Sons to pass through the fire to DEVOUR them ||.* But further, it would seem, by the following words of Jeremiah, that these impious sacrifices were offered, by the unnatural Jews, to the God of Israel himself.—“The Children of Judah have done evil in my fight, saith the Lord; they have set their abo-

\* 2 Chron. xxviii. 3.

† Psalm vi. 38, 39, 40.

‡ Psalm xix. 5.

§ xxxii. 35.

|| xxiii. 37.

. “minations

“ minations in the house which is called by my  
 “ name, to pollute it, and they have built the  
 “ high places of Tophet, which is in the valley  
 “ of the Son of Hinrom, to burn their sons  
 “ and their daughters in the fire, *which I com-*  
 “ *manded them not, neither came it into my*  
 “ *head* \*.” The concluding words seem to in-  
 timate that these Apostates pretended to have  
 received such a command; or with what pro-  
 priety was it so formally denied? Possibly they  
 might pervert the famous passage in Leviti-  
 cus †; of which more hereafter.—However, the  
 whole of the text informs us clearly, that *Child-*  
*sacrifice* sometimes polluted the altars of the  
 Temple. Ezekiel seems to confirm the same  
 thing. “ Moreover, this they have done unto  
 “ me; they have *defiled my Sanctuary, in the*  
 “ *same day, and have profaned my Sabbaths.*  
 “ For when they had *slain their Children unto their*  
 “ *Idols, then they came, the same day, into my*  
 “ *Sanctuary, to profane it, and lo! thus have*  
 “ *they done in the midst of mine house ‡*;”—i. e.  
 “ When they had slain Children to their Idols;  
 “ they, on the same day, offered the like horrid  
 “ sacrifice to me.”—And we know, it was  
 their usual practice, amidst their defections, to

\* Psalm vii. 30, 31.

† xxvii. 28, 29.

‡ xxiii. 38, 39.



join *idol-worship*, to the worship of the God of Israel.

The sacred Historian is still more express to this purpose; when he thus speaks of the wicked king Manassah—*He built altars in the house of the Lord—and he built altars for all the Host of Heaven, in the two Courts of the house of the Lord, and HE MADE HIS SONS TO PASS THROUGH THE FIRE; and observed times, and used enchantments, &c.\*.*

On the whole, the gross IMMORALITY of this horrid Rite, was that to which the abhorrence of God was principally, and often solely, directed. This truth would appear certain (did Scripture afford no other evidence) from the warning given by Moses to his People, on their going to take possession of the Promised Land.

But a decisive passage in Isaiah cuts off the subterfuge of our Philosophers, who are ready to suppose that the declared abhorrence of *human Sacrifices*, so often repeated in Scripture, is confined to such as were directed to an IDOLATROUS OBJECT; for the Prophet, in the very place referred to, speaking in the name of God, declares the utmost detestation of *human Sacrifices* when offered to himself: For, speaking to those immoral Israelites, who imagined they

\* 2 Kings xxi. 4, 5, 6.

could atone for their vices by ritual observances, he tells them, that even *legal sacrifices*, when offered to him with corrupt dispositions, were as displeasing to him, as those abominable *human Sacrifices* would be, which the Law of Nature condemns.—*He that killeth an ox is as if he had slain a MAN; he that sacrificeth a lamb as if he cut off a DOG'S NECK* \*. Here we see the ritual worship, commanded by God, is opposed to the *Sacrifice of Man*, abominated by the Law of Nature; and to the *Sacrifice of a Dog*, the thing most abhorred by the Law of Moses; in whose ritual this animal was held so totally unclean, that *the hire of a whore*, and the *price of a Dog*, are put together, as equally unfit to be brought into *the house of the Lord* †.

## II.

We come now to those two capital Passages, on which the Enemies of Religion found their impious Charge. The one, they consider as an indispensable COMMAND; the other as an EXAMPLE, adapted to enforce the execution of it.

The pretended *Command* is in *Leviticus*, and contained in these words :—NONE DEVOTED, WHICH SHALL BE DEVOTED OF MEN, SHALL BE

\* Psal. lxvi. 30.

† Deut. xxiii. 18.

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REDEEMED, BUT SHALL SURELY BE PUT TO DEATH \*.

Here is a *Law*, which our Philosophers, in their great sagacity, conceived did enjoin something. But being strangers to the subject, and ignorant of the phraseology, with heads likewise full of mischief, they discovered HUMAN SACRIFICES in a place where Moses was speaking of quite another thing.

The Chapter, in which this *Law* is found, contains directions for the making, and for the performance of Vows; a mode of obligation which had a natural place in a government THEOCRATICAL; where *civil* matters of obedience were intimately connected with *religious*.

Now, that capital Command given to the chosen People, TO EXTERMINATE THE CANAANITES, a command so necessary to be observed, for the preservation both of their *civil* and *religious* Systems, needed, above all things, frequent repetitions of the sacred tie of Vows for its more exact performance; some of the softer as well as stronger passions of our Nature, pushed forward by the delusions of self-interest, being always at hand to defeat or retard the divine sentence denounced against an INCORRIGIBLE People (of which more hereafter). The repetition of *Vows*, therefore,

\* Levit. xxvii. 29.

for the speedier accomplishment of this great and laborious event (just like the repetition of oaths of allegiance in common states for the better security of the establishment) was enjoined, or at least encouraged, by the Leaders of the Jewish people.

Sometimes the Vow was made by the People, in a Body; like that we find in the Book of *Numbers*—"And Israel vowed a *Vow* unto the Lord, and said, If thou wilt, indeed, deliver this people [the Canaanites] into my hand, then *I will utterly destroy their Cities*. And the Lord hearkened unto the *Voice* of Israel; and delivered up the Canaanites: and *they utterly destroyed them and their Cities* \*." Sometimes again, the vow was made by Particulars; by such whose power or situation best qualified them for the execution of this primary COMMAND: and to these, and for this sole purpose, was this strangely mistaken Text directed. "—NONE DEVOTED, WHICH SHALL BE DEVOTED OF MEN," (or, as it is explained in the immediately preceding verse—*no devoted thing, which a man shall devote unto the Lord*)—"shall be redeemed, but shall be surely put to death †." These *Vows* were called the SANCIFYING OR DEVOTING *men* or *things*. In

\* Numb. xxi. 2, 3.

† Levit. xxvii. 29.

which,

which, indeed, the Language of Religion is employed ; and very *naturally*, for the reason given above. But to prevent the abusive interpretation of such *Vows*, in the manner of our PHILOSOPHERS, by suffering more of *Religion* than the mere language to enter into the idea of them, the People are forbidden to extend their *vows* to what God himself had *sanctified*, such as the *first-fruits*.—Only the *firstling of the beasts*, which (says Moses) *should be the Lord's firstling, no man shall sanctify it* \*. But if *man* was, for this reason, not to sanctify the first-fruits of *beasts*, much more was *he* restrained from sanctifying the first-fruits of *Man* ; since the *first-fruits of Man* were not to be put to death (like those whom human Vows had devoted), but to be *redeemed*.

In a word, *the men here devoted by men, and not to be redeemed*, were NO SACRIFICES AT ALL, as the first-fruits of the Children of Israel WERE, and, therefore, to be *redeemed* ; but enemies taken in battle, to whom no quarter had been given ; and whose lives, by the Law of Arms, were at the disposal of the Conqueror. M. Voltaire's ignorance of the *Law of Moses*, which occasions him to mistake a MILITARY EXECUTION for a RELIGIOUS SACRIFICE, might have

\* Lev. xxvii. 29.

been well excused, had he forborne to abuse what he did not understand. But to know his Virgil no better is a disgrace indeed.

“ Quis ILLAUDATI nescit Bufiridis aras ? ”

says the great Poet, in plain detestation of *human Sacrifices*. Yet in the funeral Rites of *Patras*, directed by the Hero of the Poem (the Model of Religious Piety and civil wisdom) the captives taken in war are slain at the lighted Pile, without the least mark of the Poet's censure or disapprobation—

“ Vinxerat, et post terga manus quos mitteret  
“ umbris

“ Inferias, cæso sparsuros sanguine flammam.”

For their lives were forfeited by the Law of Arms, and only taken with a little more ceremony than is, at present, in use : the military execution being often performed at Tombs and Altars : for in the Pagan World, *Superstition* had occasioned a confused mixture of things, sacred and prophane. But in the Jewish Republic, where the Church and State were incorporated, this commixture made no other confusion than what arises from the mistakes of Men, ignorant of the nature of that Sacred Oeconomy.—Their God was their *King* ; and  
their

their government, in consequence, was *Theocratical*. So that every act of State was in a certain sense, though not in the common one, an act of Religion. Obedience to the LAW was enforced by a Vow; and slaughter, in and after Battle, a DEVOTEMENT to the *Lord of Hosts*; in support of the civil command to exterminate the Canaanites.'

But besides the singular Form of the Jewish Republic, which brought in the use of this language, the very genius of the People, modelled, indeed, on a *theocratic* administration, disposed them to improve that mode of speech; so that matters merely civil and domestic are conveyed to us in the style of Religion.

Thus highly coloured, both in the *Camp*, and in the *Temple* of the *Lord of Hosts*, was the language of the Jewish People. Which gave a pretence to the detestable Spinosa, 'to insinuate, that the whole of the Mosaic Religion consisted only in a SACRED PHRASEOLOGY. Though what he insinuates proves only, yet proves fully, that the DEVOTEMENT in question was a civil not a sacrificial Rite. " Judæi (says he) numquam causarum mediarum sive particularium faciunt mentionem, nec eas curant, sed Religionis ac pietatis, sive ut vulgo dici solet, devotionis causa, ad Deum semper recurrunt. Si enim, ex. gr. pecuniam mercatura lucrati  
" sunt

“ sunt, eam a Deo oblatam aiunt ; si aliquid,  
 “ ut fit, cupiunt, dicunt, Deum eorum cor  
 “ disposuisse ; si aliquid etiam cogitant, Deum  
 “ id iis dixisse aiunt,” &c. \*

Having now examined the pretended PRECEPT or Command ; and shewn that it has no relation to HUMAN SACRIFICE, but to quite another thing ; we proceed to the EXAMPLE, the case of JEPHTHAH : for, *on the Law of human Sacrifices* (says the Poet Voltaire) *it was, that Jephtah, who sacrificed his Daughter, founded his oath of Devotement.*—As this EXAMPLE hath given more alarm to the Friends of Religion than it deserves, and drawn them into forced and unnatural constructions of his rash and foolish Vow, it may be proper to consider the Man and his Manners, fairly and at large.

JEPHTHAH †, a Bastard son of *Gilead*, by an Harlot, being cast out from a share of his Pa-

\* Tract. Theol. C. I. This was said by *Spinoza* in order to decry the MIRACLES recorded in *Scripture*. But with the usual luck of every attempt of the same kind. For were this very exaggerated account a true one, a stronger proof, of the reality and frequency of *Miracles*, could hardly be conceived in the nature of things. Since no People but such who had lived under a real THEOCRACY, could have contracted a turn of mind productive of so singular a *Phraology*.

† Judges xi.



ternal Inheritance, by the legitimate Issue, took refuge in a strange land. What effects this expulsion must have on his religious Sentiments, we may learn from the case of DAVID; who thus expostulates with Saul, on his exile—"If  
 " (says he) they be your Counsellors, who have  
 " advised you to this unjust usage of me,—  
 " *curst be they before the Lord; for they have*  
 " *driven me out this day from abiding in the in-*  
 " *heritance of the Lord*, saying, GO, SERVE  
 " OTHER GODS \*." Now, if *David*, so learned and zealous in the LAW, was exposed at least to this inevitable temptation, by his exile in a foreign land, what must we think of *Jephthab* in similar circumstances? who had nothing of David's knowledge of the *Law*, and consequently none of his *zeal* for its support. In this foreign Land, *Jephthab* associated himself to a dissolute Band of Outlaws, who lived upon rapine and violence: not (it is confessed) the most discreditable profession, in those early ages of barbarous manners. Amongst these men, he soon got to be the leader, and a distinguished Chief in all their lawless expeditions. So that his fame for military achievements filled all the Regions round about.

At this time, the Israelites, in punishment for one of their defections from their God and

\* 1 Sam, xxvi. 19.

King, were labouring under the oppression of the idolatrous Borderers. And the *Amorites* making an excursion into *Gilead*; the Israelites of this place, as most immediately concerned, fought to provide for themselves, as well as for their brethren (now become repentant), some Leader of superior power and distinguished capacity. And the Reputation of their Kinsman, *Jephthah*, made them first apply to him.

But *Jephthah*, with the frank roughness of a soldier of fortune, naturally upbraided them, on this occasion, with their former neglect and injustice, in permitting his father's house so cruelly to cast him out, to want and misery; and now, as meanly, without redressing his injuries, to fly to him in their distress.

They reply, they were now come to make him that amends, by their choice of him for *Head* over all the inhabitants of *Gilead*.

*Jephthah* accepts this satisfaction: and an *Act* is made of their proceedings, according to the religious customs of those times.

All this while, the *Republic*, the *THEOCRACY* itself, seems to have been little thought of, by this future *Judge of Israel*. Indeed the honour of so sacred a station had small charms for our licentious Outlaw.

However, in consequence of the reconciliation, and in pursuance of the Choice which the *Gileadites* had made of him, for their Head and Leader, he enters on his office. And now, perhaps, for the first time, he observed, towards his enemies, all the punctilios of the Law of Arms.

He sent to know of the Children of Ammon, why they committed hostilities against his countrymen. They answered, that the Israelites had unjustly dispossessed them of their Lands; and that they were now assembled in arms to recover the inheritance of their Fathers. To this, the *Bastard of Gilead*, like an able Advocate, as well as a determined Chieftain, replied, That when Israel, under the conduct of Moses, had left Egypt, to take possession of the Land, promised to their Forefathers, and now given to them by their God, they had craved leave of the intermediate People, and particularly of the *Children of Ammon*, for a free passage through their Country, according to the Law of Nations, which being denied unto them, they forced their way; and when hostilely opposed, and their enemies overcome in battle, they took possession, as, by the Laws of War, they might do, of the Lands of the Conquered. So far was well; and suitable to the dignity of a *Judge of Israel*.

But,

But, by what follows, it appears, that our famous Adventurer was, as yet, more than half a Pagan; for thus he proceeds—*So now the Lord God of Israel hath dispossessed the Amorites from before his People Israel; and shouldest thou possess it? WILT NOT THOU POSSESS THAT WHICH CHEMOSH, THY GOD, GIVETH THEE TO POSSESS? So whomsoever the LORD, OUR GOD, shall drive out from before us, them will we possess* \*. This was said, on the Gentile principle of *local tutelary Deities*, in all the grossness of that notion; not yet refined and rationalized by our Adventurer, on the ideas of the Law. But when he resumes the *civil argument*, he again reasons better: and very solidly pleads the general law of *PRESCRIPTION*, in defence of his People.—*While Israel (says he) dwelt in Heshbon and her Towns, and in Aroer and her Towns, and in all the Cities that be along, by the Coasts of Arnon, THREE HUNDRED YEARS; Why therefore did ye not recover them WITHIN THAT TIME* †? But the force of this Argument making no impression, the negotiation ended in an appeal to arms. *Jephtah* leads out his Troops against Ammon. And, in the Forefront, without doubt, were those faithful Bands, which he had collected and disciplined in the Land of *Tob*.

\* Judges xi. 23, 24.

† Judges v. 26.

The first step he takes to invite Success, was the making an absurd Pagan Vow, that, if he returned with Victory, he would sacrifice, for a burnt-offering to God, whatsoever came first out of the doors of his house \* to welcome his return. He came back a Conqueror; and his Daughter, impatient to celebrate his Triumph, being the first who met him, was, for his Oath's sake, (though with extreme regret, because, *besides her, he had neither son nor daughter* †,) sacrificed for her pains, according to the then established custom of *Idolatry*; which, on such occasions, required a Sacrifice of what was most dear or precious to the offerer. For, I hardly believe that *Jephthab* was, at this time, so learned in the LAW, as even the Poet Voltaire; or that he had proceeded, like him, so far in the sacred text, as to misunderstand or misinterpret this famous *twenty-seventh Chapter of Leviticus*, in support of so impious an action. The unhappy father appears, at this time, to understand so little of the LAW, as not to be able to distinguish what it had in common with Paganism, (namely the custom of offering eucharistical Sacrifices, on every great and fortunate event) from what it had in direct opposition to it (viz. that dire impiety of *human Sacrifice*).

\* Judges v. 31.

† Ver. 34.

The account here given appears to be the natural explanation of a plain Story. But Commentators, full of the ideas of *Papal*, rather than of the *Mosaic* times; and paying a blind reverence to the character of a *Judge of Israel*, make the Daughter, to save her father's honour, return *vow* for *vow*; and so consecrate herself to a Virgin State. Solutions like these expose Sacred Scripture to the scorn and derision of unbelievers.

But against our account of JEPHTHAH's Vow, which makes the whole to be conceived and perpetrated on Pagan principles and practices, our adversaries,

1. Bid us observe, that the action is not condemned. A censure, they think, it could not have escaped, had the Sacred Historian deemed it an impiety.

2. That the text tells us further, that *Jephthah went out in the Spirit of the Lord* \*; and therefore they conclude, that he returned in the same *Spirit*.

3. Lastly, that Jephthah is extolled by the Author of *the Epistle to the Hebrews* †, and numbered in the class of sacred Heroes.

To these objections, in their order.

First, They who lay so much stress on the Action's having passed uncensured, consider

\* Judges v. 29.

† xi. 32.

neither the nature of the Composition, nor the genius of the Historian. The narrative itself is a brief Compendium, or rather extract from the *Records of State*, entered as things passed, and then laid up in the Archives of their Scribes. In this species of Composition it is not the wont to dwell either on the causes, the qualities, or the consequences of Actions, but simply to tell the naked Facts.

Nor had the Writers of those times improved History into an art. They transcribed or abridged, merely for the sake of the people's information in facts, of what they found recorded in their venerable Archives. This was the case in the Story of the *lying Prophet*, in the affair of the *Altar of Bethel* \*. His crime is neither condemned, nor is his punishment recorded. Had the *History* been a *Romance*, forged at pleasure, both these particulars had assuredly been dwelt upon at large.

Besides, as the nature and quality of actions are best seen by the *Laws* and *Customs* of the people concerned; and the action in question was well understood, both by the Writer, and his Readers, to be condemned by the *Mosaic Ritual*, it less needed a Censure. The faithful Followers of the Law, for whose service this

\* 1 Kings xii.

adventure was recorded, wanted no historian of prophetic Authority to tell them, (after they had seen *human sacrifices* execrated in almost every page of their History) that *Jephthah's sacrifice of his Daughter* was either an impious imitation of Pagan practices, or an ignorant presumption in the half-paganized Votary, that he was here complying with the famous precept of the Law in Leviticus \*, when indeed (as we have shewn at large) it related to quite another thing.

But further, it is not peculiar to this story, to furnish an objection (such as it is) from the sacred Writer's not interposing with his own judgment, concerning the *moral quality* of the action related. Scripture abounds with instances of this sort; a silence occasioned by one or other of the causes here explained.

2. But *Jephthah* (which is the second objection) *went out in the spirit of the Lord*, and therefore (they conclude) he must needs return *in the same spirit*.

Now though, on a less important occasion, I should be tempted to acquiesce in the *Criticism*, though not in the *spirit*, of Spinoza, that this expression was to be put to the account of the *sacred phrazeology* of the Jews; and to mean no more than the strength, the courage, and

\* xxvii. 29.



the address of a consummate leader ; yet the language being here applied to a *Judge of Israel*, and in the actual exercise of his office, I can readily allow that it signifies some *supernatural assistance*.

But what then ? when the work committed to him, and for which he was thus qualified, was well over, we have no reason to suppose that the same spirit constantly rested on him, but very much to conclude the contrary. One of his most illustrious successors, SAMSON, had still a larger share of this *divine Spirit* imparted to him ; yet nobody imagines that it rested with him ; when, contrary to the LAW, he chose a wife from amongst the Philistines, or revealed the secret intrusted with him to Delilah ; delinquencies much less criminal than the Sacrifice of a Daughter.

3. —But then, “ the Author of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* extols him ; and lifts him into the number of the most distinguished of the Jewish Heroes.”—But for what is he thus extolled ?—For his rash *view* ? No surely. David is extolled in the same place, and in the same manner. Is it for the murder of Uriah, and adultery with his Wife ? Surely neither of the Heroes are extolled for these exploits ; but for their FAITH in God, and their zeal for the advancement of the THEOCRACY. So says the

Writer himself; where, recapitulating the works and achievements of FAITH, he goes on, in these words—*And what shall I more say, For the time would fail me to tell of Gideon and Barak, and of Samson and of JEPHTHAH, of David also and Samuel, &c.* \*—This FAITH was so active and eminent in DAVID, that, notwithstanding his two gross immoralities, he is called by God himself, A MAN AFTER HIS OWN HEART. For, as this illustrious Title neither covered, nor atoned, for his crimes, so neither did his crimes hinder its being bestowed upon him, when the question only concerned his zeal for the LAW and the THEOCRACY; as I have shewn to these Philosophers, on another occasion.

To conclude with JEPHTHAH.—We know, though only in general, that he lived long enough in the exercise of his Ministry, and, consequently, under the occasional guidance of God's holy Spirit, to wipe out all the Pagan impressions of his ill education. DAVID, with a much better in his early youth, kept on improving in the knowledge of the LAW.—He was at first somewhat scandalized at the *prosperity of the wicked*: but when he came into the *sanctuary*, i. e. when he had gained a more exact and perfect knowledge of the Dispensation,

\* Heb. xi. 32.

*then*, as he tells us, *he understood the end of those men*. In these respects, indeed, we are left more to our conjectures concerning JEPHTHAH.—His History tells us, *he judged Israel for six years*\*. We are further informed (and this is all) that he defeated the Ephraimites †; who had picked a groundless quarrel with him; which ended as it is fit all such quarrels should end.

But, though we have now done with the personal Character of *Jephthah*, and his rash Vow, we have something more to say of the general Character of a *Judge of Israel*, as it holds in common with that of many other of God's *chosen servants*: whose faults and imperfections the malice of Unbelievers have carefully drawn out, and objected to us, as matter of scandal; tending to impeach the veracity of Sacred History, and the Evidence that God thus interposed in support of his revealed Will.

To clear up this matter, it may be sufficient to observe, that when God sees fit, in an extraordinary way, to give a new revelation of his WILL to man, we may conclude, from the very nature of things, that he will not disgrace his own DISPENSATION, by the use of unworthy Instruments.

Both the *dignity* and *interests* of Revelation require, that the *first Bearers* of these glad tid-

\* Judges xii. 7.

† xii. 1.

ings to mankind should be fully possessed of that *power* of Virtue which true religion only can bestow.

The *dignity* of Revelation requires that so bright an emanation from the very source of light and purity should not be conveyed to us through a polluted medium. The *interests* of it, likewise, reclaim against such an unworthy Service.

A sanctity of manners, which is so necessary to support the mission, is the natural and inseparable attendant on the Office. For, in the promulgation of a new Religion, besides those marks of truth arising from the purity and reasonableness of the Doctrine, which shew it to be WORTHY of the Author to whom it is ascribed, there is need, in order to prove that it ACTUALLY CAME FROM HIM, of certain MIRACULOUS powers, declarative of the nature of the *Dispensation*; and attendant on the sanctification of the heart of the Messenger.

But the *character* of God's Instruments, and the *conduct* of Providence in the use of them, may be very different from those who are only raised up, and employed for the *support* of an established *Dispensation*; as in the Jewish oeconomy; or for the *reformation* of it, as in the Christian: though in the Jewish, administered by an extraordinary Providence, these Instruments

ments may have had *extraordinary powers* intrusted to them, which those of the Christian had not. Here [*i. e.* for the support or reformation of things received and established] the same conclusion, for the necessity of sanctity of manners, will not hold. It being sufficient, for this purpose, that God, in the settled course of his Providence, is incessantly producing GOOD OUT OF EVIL. And the *irregular* Instrument is frequently made to serve, without his knowledge, and even against his will, the great ends of piety and truth.

Of the evidence of this, the History of the Church affords us many examples.

When God had gradually prepared, and, at length, fitted his *Chosen People* for the reception of the LAW, his early Instruments were selected from the most virtuous amongst men, NOAH, ABRAHAM, and MOSES :

And, again, when he first prepared the world for the promulgation of the GOSPEL (which was the completion of the LAW) he committed the care of it to men of the most unblemished and exemplary characters; such as John the Baptist, and the blessed Apostles.

But in the *Establishment*, in the *Support*, and in the *Reformation* of Religion (the second and inferior Operation of Divine Love to Man) God did not disdain to employ less perfect Instruments,

ments, in either Dispensation. He served himself of DAVID for the LAW, and of CONSTANTINE for the GOSPEL. And under the former of these Dispensations, both before and after the period here referred to, when he had decreed, either to execute vengeance on the Oppressors of an offending People, or to clear the Holy Land of Idolaters, he frequently availed himself of the Agency of wicked Kings and licentious Rulers. The same gracious Providence was displayed in the preservation of Religion under the latter Dispensation. For, when the time was come that the Christian Church was to be cleansed and purified from the long pollutions of an Antichristian Usurpation, God was pleased to make use of Instruments, who had neither motives nor manners that could do honour to the *Reformation* they were appointed to bring to pass.

UNBELIEVERS did not sufficiently consider this, when they made it an objection to *revealed Religion*; nor PAPISTS, when they made the same objection to the *Protestant Reformation*. To the *First* we have already said enough on this head; and, to the other, shall only add at present, that we are far from being ashamed of receiving spiritual benefit from men, who supply these circumstances of reproach against themselves; while we find reason to adore that

Hand

Hand which turned the avarice (if such was the case) of a furious Friar, and the luxury of a debauched Monarch, from their natural Mischiefs, to become productive of the greatest blessings; the Restoration of LETTERS and RELIGION.

But it is now time to go on with M. *Voltaire*, whose *Philosophy*, being grafted on his *Poetry*, produces Fruit worthy of the Stock it comes from, viz. *Fable* and *Fiction*. So that the next instance he produces of the encouragement which the LAW gives to *human Sacrifices*, is Saul's *abortive vow*.—The wonder is, that he did not go on with the cases of Achan—the five Kings of the Amorites—Sisera—Agag—Adonijah—the five sons of Saul, hung up in Gibeah—and, in short, all the civil and military executions recorded in the Old Testament. But in his rage to run down Religion, he has out-shot himself, and forgot his subject.—To bring him to himself, I will, in charity, direct him to a text, which, if he knows how to pervert with proper dexterity, may appear more to his purpose than any of this senseless prate. It is in the Prophet *Micah*: who addressing himself to his corrupt and idolatrous Countrymen, amongst his other exprobrations, ridicules, and, at the same time, instructs them, in this manner—“Wherewith shall I come before the

“ Lord ? and bow myself before the high God ?  
 “ Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings,  
 “ with Calves of a year old ? Will the Lord  
 “ be pleased with thousands of Rams, or ten  
 “ thousands of rivers of Oil ? SHALL I GIVE  
 “ MY FIRST-BORN FOR MY TRANSGRESSION ; THE  
 “ FRUIT OF MY BODY FOR THE SIN OF MY SOUL ?  
 “ He hath shewed thee, O man ! what is good.  
 “ And what doth the Lord require of thee,  
 “ but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk  
 “ humbly with thy God \*?”

Reasoners, like our poet, may fancy, that the Prophet is here reckoning up the most efficacious of the **LEGAL SACRIFICES** ; and consequently, that **INFANTICIDE** and **HOMICIDE** are amongst the first of that number, since all are said to be offered up to *the Lord the high God*.

To confute this groundless fancy, let me previously repeat these two observations. First, that the Law of Moses is so far from requiring or directing *human Sacrifices*, that it ever treats them with the utmost abhorrence ; and therefore was very unlikely to speak of them as *legal Sacrifices* : secondly, it hath been shewn that the Idolatrous Jews of these times, were accustomed to bring into the **TEMPLE-SERVICE** the most detested Rites of Paganism.

\* Micah vi. 6, 7, 8.



This being premised, let us consider the season in which these Prophecies, sent to Micah, were delivered ;—to whom they were addressed —and to what end, directed. They were sent, the prophet tells us, *in the days of Jotham, Abaz, and Hezekiab, Kings of Judah* \*.

We find by the History of these Kings, that in their reign, the House of Judah was sunk into all kinds of vice and iniquity. But still the leading crime, through the bad example of these monarchs, was IDOLATRY ; which consisted, sometimes in worshipping the God of Israel in the Pagan places of worship, called THE HIGH PLACES ; at other times in worshipping Idols in the very place of God's worship, THE TEMPLE. Jotham, indeed, is said to have done *that which was right in the sight of the Lord. Howbeit that the HIGH PLACES were not removed, the People sacrificed and burnt incense still in the high places* †. But his son, Ahaz, we are told, “ did not that “ which was right in the sight of the Lord his “ God, like David, his Father. But he walked “ in the way of the Kings of Israel. Yea, and “ made his Sons to pass through the FIRE, according to the abominations of the Heathen, whom “ the Lord cast out from before the Chil-

\* Micah i. 1.

† 2 Kings xv. 34, 35.

“ dren

“dren of Israel \*.” Hezekiah supplied what was wanting in the Grandfather, and reformed what was amiss, during the wicked reign of his Father.

Amongst a people so corrupt, while any sense of Religion still remained, *Rites and Ceremonies* would always take the lead of *moral duties*. The Prophet seems to have availed himself of the good reign of Hezekiah : and to aid the reformation, which that Monarch had begun, attacks labouring Superstition in its head quarters, amidst the fires of *Moloch*.

But to strike at the root of the evil, which was substituting *ritual* modes of Worship, in the place of *moral duties*, he informs them how unacceptable the external pomp and pageantry of Religion was to the God of Israel, when not accompanied with purity of heart, and integrity of manners. This is the general sense of the Text quoted above : which, without doubt, should be thus paraphrased—*Wherewith shall I come before the Lord*, (says the Prophet, personating an idolatrous and immoral Jew,) *shall I bring a profusion of Calves, and Rams, and Oil, AS THE LAW DIRECTS ; Or if these be insufficient, or unacceptable to the Deity, shall I seek, as is now the practice, for a more powerful atonement, AMONGST*

\* 2 Kings xvi. 3.

THE FOREIGN RITES OF OUR PAGAN NEIGHBOURS, *who boast of something still more precious and worthy the Altars of their Gods—MY FIRST-BORN TO BE OFFERED UP IN SACRIFICE? Vain man, sub-joins the Prophet, do not God and Nature proclaim, that without VIRTUE, Rites and Ceremonies are of no avail, whether they be such as the LAW prescribes, or such as IDOLATERS (to whose practices thou art so enslaved) impiously fancy to be still more horribly efficacious.*

And how, *human Sacrifices* came to be so esteemed, we have shewn, in the course of this dissertation, *concerning the rise and progress of Sacrifice.*

### III.

From the *Sacrifice of particular Men*, charged by M. Voltaire on the Jewish Law, he rises in his impiety to accuse it of the SACRIFICE OF A WHOLE NATION. These are his words—"It is said in Leviticus that *none devoted* which shall be devoted of men shall be redeemed, but shall surely be put to death. The Jewish books bear evidence, that when the Israelites overran the little country of Canaan, they massacred, in most of the villages, men, women, and children—because they had been DEVOTED."

In

In these words are included two charges against the Law.—1. That this *devoting* of the Canaanites was a *religious Sacrifice*. 2. Or, at least, a commanded extermination of a whole people, by the ministry of the Israelites. So that if one of them should fail, the other yet may hold.

I have already acquitted it of the first, by an explanation of the famous mistaken text in the xxviii<sup>th</sup> chapter of Leviticus. We come now to the second, the censure of extreme cruelty and inhumanity in executing the command. And this will bring us to the concluding head, on this subject.—

THE MORAL GOVERNOR OF THE UNIVERSE administers his Sovereignty in two different ways: while moral Governors amongst men can, in their several departments, administer theirs only in one.

God, the Author of Nature, and Framer of its Constitution, hath so ordered and combined moral Entities, that VIRTUE generally, or for the most part, produceth HAPPINESS; while MISERY is as generally attendant upon VICE. On this disposition of things, the rewards and punishments of FREE AGENTS are first of all adjusted. But this makes it neither superfluous nor inexpedient for the God of the Universe to

punish and reward in another manner, likewise. Not *superfluous* ; since this constitution of Nature does not always, by reason of certain traverses in *free agency*, produce its designed effects. Not *inexpedient* ; since, in that other manner, the *power* of the divine Administration is more sensibly manifested ; as in the first way his *Wisdom* may be better collected : While, both together serve more fully to convince us, that the FIRST CAUSE is a free Agent ; and that the constitution of Nature is his ordinance ; and not the effect of chance or destiny.

On these accounts, a reasonable analogy would lead us to conclude, from what passeth in the government of the NATURAL WORLD, that in the early ages of mankind, when an EQUAL PROVIDENCE prevailed (as it did while men retained the knowledge of their Governor and Creator ; of which more in its proper place) God would frequently interpose, in an extraordinary manner, to prevent or redress those irregularities which would, from time to time, arise, and did actually arise in God's *moral government*, while *solely* administered by that relative order of things, which his *wisdom* had so beautifully connected, and so firmly established, as to be disordered by nothing but the traverses of *free agency* in his Creatures.

That

That he did thus, in fact, interpose, holy Scriptures bear full evidence. The first account we have of it, after the DELUGE (in which, this part of God's moral administration was so signally displayed) is in the fate of *Sodom and Gomorrah*: And afterwards, in the EXTERMINATION OF THE CANAANITES: both these nations having, by the same unnatural crimes, *filled up the measure of their iniquities.*

In the case of *Sodom and Gomorrah*, the enormity of their vices, and the total depravity of their manners, impose silence on the most profligate opposers of Religion, however clamorous they may be in the Patronage of the *Canaanites*. Their Plea, in favour of these, arises from the Choice God is said to have made of the INSTRUMENTS of his Vengeance. *Fire and Brimstone* they easily submit to: but *Fire and Sword* revolts their humanity.

They can never (they tell us) be brought to believe that the common Father of All would employ some of his reasonable Creatures to execute his vengeance upon others of the same species, even though these others had been justly sentenced to perdition for their beastly and inhuman Vices.

They pretend to say, "that God could nor, consistently with his nature and attributes, put

fellow-creatures on such an employment." They have offered no reasons for this bold assertion : and I can find none. In the mean time, we must needs be much edified with the modesty of these men ; who deny that liberty to God, which they are not backward to allow to their earthly Sovereigns : Amongst whom, the right of employing *one* part of their Subjects to execute their Sentence on *another* is every where practised, without censure or control.

But they say further, " that although God *might*, yet he certainly *would not* have recourse to *human agency* in this matter, on account of the mischiefs which such agency was likely to produce.

First, as it is extremely liable to abuse. Every Pretender to a divine command, whether feigned by an Impostor, or fancied by an Enthusiast, would, when supported by this example, never suffer their Neighbours to live in peace. And Saracen armies and Popish Crusades would be always at hand to carry on desolation in the name of God."

Secondly, " this *instrumentality* must have an ill effect on the MANNERS of the Israelites, by making their hearts callous, and insensible to the calamities of their Fellow-Creatures." These are the objections of our PHILOSOPHERS. But  
before

before they give us time to reply, they kindly take the trouble off our hands, and will needs answer for us, themselves. This is one of their usual tricks, to stop or cover the disgrace of a foolish Sophism, by a shew of candour. But, indeed, their aim is to draw the Advocate of religion from solid ground, which is fairly and steadily to confute infidelity, ON ITS OWN PRINCIPLES. Of this flight of hand, the Poet Voltaire has here given us an example most worthy of him.—*This [the extermination of the Canaanites] had been an enormous crime, had not God himself, THE SOVEREIGN ARBITER OF LIFE AND DEATH, of whose conduct we are not to ask a reason, so ordained, in the impenetrable depths of his justice.*—Indeed! But we will be bold to bring him back to the state of the question.—“God the MORAL GOVERNOR of the World could not or would not (say unbelievers) make use of *human Instruments* for the destruction of the Canaanites.” This is the objection. But to keep us from answering, they take the business into their own hands—God (says this prince of Philosophers) *the CREATOR, the sovereign arbiter of life and death, of whose conduct we are not to ask, what dost thou? hath foreclosed all reasoning, in the impenetrable depths of his Justice.*”



Thus they raise their objection against a command of God, as MORAL GOVERNOR of the Universe (and such he is always represented in Scripture); and then, to stop our mouths with a Flamm, answer the objection themselves, by putting a PHYSICAL CREATOR in his place.

Now, of the actions of A MORAL GOVERNOR, we may, with due modesty and humility, ask the reason;—*Shall not THE JUDGE OF ALL THE EARTH do right?* was asked \* in a similar case, by the *Father of the Faithful*. But, to the PHYSICAL CREATOR of the Universe, who will venture to say, *what doest thou* †?—Illustrious Philosopher! permit us therefore to answer for ourselves. We say, that the *moral Governor* of the World can never be debarred from carrying on his Administration in such a way as may best suit the ends of divine Wisdom, because human folly may encourage itself to raise, on that ground, an impious and abusive imitation. And, neither under *natural*, nor under *revealed Religion*, hath God thought fit to exempt or secure his *Laws* from such abuses.

God, under *natural Religion*, in the ordinary course of his Providence, hath, by annexing evil to Vice, made that Constitution of things the *Instrument* of punishment; but how hath

\* Gen. xviii. 25.

† Job. ix. 12.

this Dispensation been dishonoured, and even to the disturbance of Society itself, when these punishments, interpreted by ignorant or uncharitable men, have been turned into EXTRAORDINARY JUDGMENTS?—Again, *Peter* and *John* said, what every honest Deist is ready to say,—*We must obey God rather than Man* \*. Yet how perpetually has this truth been abused by Rebels and Fanatics.

Under *Revealed Religion*, MIRACLES, (the necessary Credential of those intrusted with its promulgation) by which Power, both the physical and intellectual Systems were controlled, have yet occasioned innumerable abuses, defiling every age of the Church with fantastic Prodigies, and lying Wonders.

But why do I speak of these sanctions of Revelation (the Credentials of God's Messengers), when the very Communication of his Will to Man, REVELATION itself, hath filled all ages and nations with Impostors, pretending to a divine Commission?

But our *Philosophers* go on; and say, "That this office of destruction, imposed upon the Israelites, must have produced an ill effect on their *Moral Character*, by giving them wrong notions of the *divine Nature*; and by vitiating

\* Acts v. 29.

*their own*; as it had a tendency to destroy or to weaken the Social passions and affections."

Nay, further, they pretend to see the marks of these evils in the Character of the *chosen People*: whom, therefore, instead of pitying, (and if the evils arose from the cause they assign, were most deserving of pity) they have most mercilessly abused and misrepresented. But to answer to the FIRST PART of this infidel objection, which pretends that the Jews were brought, by this employment, to entertain *wrong ideas of the Divine Nature*, I reply,—The most adorable attribute of God, the *moral Governor* of the world, is his LONG-SUFFERING, by which he bears with the crimes and follies of men, in order to bring them to repentance: Now this attribute he hath made manifest to all: but more fully to his *chosen People*; even in the very case of these devoted Canaanites. For when their crimes were arrived at the height of human depravity, He still withheld his hand, and, by divers awakening Judgments, gave them time and invitation for repentance. But on their neglect and contempt of his repeated warnings, He at length was *forced*, as it were, to pour out his full vengeance upon them.

The Author of the Apocryphal Book, of *the Wisdom of Solomon*, thus graphically paints their case, in an Address to the Almighty.—“Thou  
“hast

“ hast mercy upon all—thou winkest at the  
 “ Sins of Men, because they should amend—  
 “ Thou sparest all; for they are thine, thou  
 “ Lover of Souls!—Therefore thou chastenest  
 “ them, by little and little, that offend; and  
 “ warnest them by putting them in remem-  
 “ brance wherein they have offended; that,  
 “ leaving their wickedness, they may believe  
 “ in thee, O Lord! FOR IT WAS THY WILL  
 “ TO DESTROY BY THE HANDS OF OUR FATHERS,  
 “ THOSE OLD INHABITANTS OF THY HOLY  
 “ LAND; whom thou hatest for doing most  
 “ odious works of Sorceries, and WICKED SA-  
 “ CRIFICES—*merciless murderers of children, and*  
 “ *devourers of man’s flesh, and the feasts of*  
 “ *blood*—Nevertheless even those thou spared’st  
 “ *as Men\**, and didst *send Wasps*, forerunners  
 “ of thine host, to destroy them by little and  
 “ little—executing thy judgments upon them  
 “ by little and little, THOU GAVEST THEM  
 “ PLACE OF REPENTANCE; not being ignorant  
 “ that they were a naughty Generation—and  
 “ their cogitations would never be changed †.”

The Canonical Books of Scripture authenticate what this Sage Writer of after-times

\* i. e. for the sake of their rational nature, though by their unnatural vices they had forfeited all the prerogatives of humanity.

; xi. 23. & seq. xii. 2. & seq.

here

here delivers, concerning God's dealing with these *devoted Nations*.

*Moses*, on the egression of the Israelites from Egypt, speaks thus to them, in the Person of the Almighty—"I will send *Hornets* before thee, which shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite from before thee. I will not drive them out from before thee in one year, lest the land become desolate; but by *little and little* will I drive them out from before thee \*." And again in his last exhortation to his People,—“Behold the Lord, thy God, will send the *Hornet* amongst them, until they that are left, and hide themselves from thee, be destroyed †.” And *Joshua*, on the like occasion, tells the People that what *Moses* had promised, in the name of the God of Israel, God had fulfilled—*I sent the HORNET* before you, which drove them out from before you, even the two Kings of the Amorites ‡.

Here, the Reader may observe, that the *Apocryphal* Writer gives *one* reason for the *temporary* plagues, which forerun the total destruction of the Canaanites; and the *Authentic Text* gives another; nor will the learned Reader be at a loss to account for this difference.

\* Exod. xxiii. 28.

† Deut. vii. 20.

‡ Josh. xxiv. 12.

The Israelites, under their Leader, *Moses*, did not want to be told, that those *temporary Plagues* were sent *in mercy*. They had, on the first opening of his Commission, been instructed by him, in the attributes of the true God, *his long suffering and bearing with the contradiction of Sinners*; and his merciful acceptance even of a late-delayed Repentance. They had experienced the unwearied exertion of this attribute, even in their own case, when their repeated perversities, which would have tired out every thing but *infinite Goodness*, were as often pardoned as they were committed. So that *they* were not ignorant, though their degenerate Posterity, in the time of this Apocryptical Writer, might want to be informed of the gracious purpose, in those warnings to a devoted People.

And as there was another use in these probationary plagues, viz. the wasting the Inhabitants of Canaan, this was the design which *Moses* and *Joshua* principally insist on, as it was the greatest encouragement to a dastardly People. *Moses*, in the name of his Master, promiseth to send HORNETS before them, which SHOULD DRIVE OUT *the Hivite, &c.* And *Joshua* reminds his People how the promise had been performed—*God sent the HORNET before you, which drove them out from before you, &c.*

This

This assurance was no more than needed. The cowardice contracted in a long state of Slavery (a State fairly recorded, and deeply lamented by their Leader) required the assistance of all NATURE in their support.

“ O nimium dilecte Deo—cui militat Æther,

“ Et conjurati veniunt ad Classica venti.”

But though these *warning Judgments*, these *chastisements of mercy*, were lost on those to whom they were sent, yet they were not cast away; for, in aggravating the Crimes of the *Canaanites*, they served, at the same time, to promote their speedier extermination. So admirably is the moral government of God administered, that it's acts, directed to various purposes, are never issued in vain.—But what is said in holy Writ, of the previous punishments on the *Canaanites*, in mercy, is given only as a specimen of them, and not for a complete list, as in the record of the *trying* plagues of Egypt. So that we are not to conclude, that the destructive Animals, sent amongst those miscreants, were only wasps and hornets; or that, amongst the awakening punishments, DISEASE was not one. When God was pleased, in after times, to punish their Descendants, the *Philistines*, for their prophanation of the ARK; (which, for the sins of his people, he suffered to fall

fall into their hands) the sacred writers tell us, that they, who so prophaned it, *were smitten with emerods in their secret parts* \*. . This is the only punishment there mentioned. Yet, by the account of the atonement, or *trespass-offering*, it appears that there was *another*.—The Philistines sent back with the Ark, which they restored, *the images of five emerods, and FIVE MICE IN GOLD* †. Who can doubt, but that, in this addition to the atonement, another punishment was intimated, viz. the *devastation of their Lands by mice*? But the sacred Writer does not leave us to mere conjecture. In speaking of these mice, he thus qualifies them,—*Mite that MARR THE LAND*. But this is not all. The text here acquaints us, though occasionally, with two punishments, inflicted on the *Canaanites*; which the history of their expulsion does not particularly mention.—We understand how fit Instruments of general devastation MICE must needs be : and we may guess how well suited the *other punishment* was for their unnatural Crimes ; nor would either one, or the other, cease to remind them of the vices or punishments of their Ancestors, the Canaanites, so that, avoiding the manners of their ancestors,

\* 1 Sam. v. 6.

† Chap. vi. 4, 5.



they might (if possible) escape their total destruction.

I shall conclude this point with an observation which naturally leads to the next, that is to say, to the **SECOND PART** of this infidel objection, viz. "the **EFFECT** which the destruction of the Canaanites must be supposed to have on the minds of the **MORAL INSTRUMENTS** of their punishment." A matter most deserving our attention.

It cannot be doubted but that the Almighty displayed his mercy and long suffering on *Sodom and Gomorrah*, in some way analogous to what he practised in the Land of *Canaan*, (and how gracious he was in the extent of that mercy, we learn from Abraham's intercession for those Cities \*) though the particulars of it be not recorded by the sacred historian: Whose silence in the one case, and not in the other, may be clearly understood. Those execrable Cities were destroyed *immediately* by God's own hand, in letting loose the *Elements* (the treasurers of his wrath) upon them.—In the deletion of the Canaanites he was pleased to employ **HUMAN INSTRUMENTS**. These were to be used according to their nature; not as Entities merely *Physical*, but as *moral agents* likewise:

\* Gen. xviii.

Beings not only endowed with *Sense*, but *Sentiment*. Now it seemed but fit that such *agents* should be instructed in the reason and occasion of their Commission ; especially as it was a matter of high importance ; no less than to preserve them from judging perversely of the divine attributes. Accordingly Moses obviated this mischief by a detail of the abominable manners of this devoted People : together with a memorial of the ineffectual issue of their many *chastisements in mercy* to bring them to repentance, and to save them from utter deletion.

As the mischief was thus effectually obviated, the *Israelites* were, at the same time, secured from that other, (which is the second point objected to their Commission) it's tendency to viciate the most amiable passion of our nature, by destroying or weakening the benign and social feelings for the miseries of our fellow-creatures. For what could God's gracious dealing with these incorrigible Miscreants teach all ; who (like the *Israelites*) were intimately informed of their crimes, and long delayed punishment, but, in imitation of God's long forbearance, to shew mercy and compassion to their offending Brethren in distress. Nor, in fact, do we find that the *Jews* were more steeled to, or insensible of, the calamities of humanity (bating those of this devoted People) than other men ;

in the early Ages of society, were wont to be. And if they were not much more humanized, by being *better taught, as well as fed*, than the rest of mankind, it must be ascribed, not to this *Commission*, but to a certain *native perversity*, which (as strange as it may at first sight appear) might be one, amongst the very many reasons of God's choice of them, for his PECULIAR, as it made them the properest subjects to work upon, for a fuller manifestation of his infinite mercy towards the Sons of Men. Where it might be seen, in the *deviations* from right of two People thus connected and related, that the *one* was destroyed, after all means had been employed, without effect, to bring them to REPENTANCE; and the *other* pardoned and highly favoured, when the same merciful forbearance had produced it's fruit of a timely REPENTANCE, and return to God, after every transgression; and, at length, a determined perseverance in this their capital duty (adherence to the true God) for many ages, even to the present time.

But it may still be asked, though no mischief was derived towards the *Instruments* of this extraordinary Commission, yet what good could such a *commission* produce? I answer, much, and constant; for besides a *political* benefit to an abject unwarlike people, in teaching them the use of arms; who were to make their de-  
tined

tined way to Empire, as well by their own power, as by the extraordinary aid of the Almighty; in order to avoid a lavish waste of miracles: besides this, (I say) there were *moral advantages*, great and lasting, derived to this Instrumentality. Horror and aversion in the *Israelites* to those unnatural Crimes which had occasioned the deletion of the *Canaanites*; whose punishment must be intimately impressed on the minds of the *chosen People*, by their being appointed the executioners of God's vengeance. To confirm this, we may observe, that both *Moses* and *Joshua*, by incessantly reminding them of the horrid depravity of that devoted People, had their eyes always intent upon this good effect.

P. 175. [H]. The eloquent *Bossuet* saith rightly, that *Protestants* have but lamely supported the FIGURE, of THIS IS MY BODY, &c. by those—*I am the vine—I am the door.*—And the reason he gives has it's weight.—*Jesus* (says he) *in the institution of the Lord's Supper, was neither propounding a parable, nor explaining an allegory* \*—But when the learned Writer would

\* — quand les uns oppoioient, *ceci est mon corps*, les autres repondoient, *Je suis le vigna—Je suis la porte—le pierre etoit Christ*—Il est vrai que ces exemples n'etoient pas semblables. Ce n'etoit ni en proposant une parbole, ni en expliquant une allegorie.

have us infer from this, that there could be no other occasion for the use of a **FIGURE**, he imposes his usual artifice upon us; which was always to keep out of sight what would have detected his slight of hand. He knew there were other occasions, of employing *figurative* expressions, such as *fixing and declaring the NATURE OF A RITE*.—And this was the *occasion* here.—But then, says he, the words are detached and separated from all other discourse—there is no leading preparation \*.—So say the *Socinians* likewise; in order to infer a contrary conclusion. But we have already shewn, that they are both mistaken.

There was a *leading preparation*; and that, a plain one, namely, the celebration of the paschal Supper. And we have shewn, it was the custom of our Lord to be *led* by what passed before him, to regulate his language on ideas thus prepared.—Nor was the *consecration* of the Elements in the SUPPER OF OUR LORD SEPARATE from all other discourse. It was preceded by, and connected with, a most affecting *discourse* on the death and sufferings of our Redeemer. Therefore the words of the Consecration do not, as M.

\* Ces paroles [ceci est mon Corps, &c.] détachées de tout autre discours, portent tout leur sens en elles-mêmes.

Bossuet pretends, *carry their whole meaning within themselves*; but refer to things preceding and exterior. So that the Bishop's triumphant conclusion loses much of it's lustre, when he says, *what I pretend to evince is, the embarrass into which these words—THIS IS MY BODY, throws all the Protestant party—there was no reason for using these STRONG TERMS for the Institution of the Eucharist rather than for Baptism.—This place I foretell shall be the eternal and inevitable confusion of the defenders of the FIGURATIVE SENSE\**. There was no more reason, on the Protestant principles, (says he) *for choosing these STRONG TERMS here, than in the rite of Baptism.—Surely, there was a very good one. For if it was the purpose of divine Wisdom to explain the nature of the Rite, only by the words of the Consecration, which it is agreed it was, as well by him who holds it to be a real Sacrifice, as by us who hold it is only a feast upon Sacrifice, there was a necessity for the use of these terms. This was not the case in instituting the Rite of Baptism, whose nature is expressly defined. Besides, here the matter, administered, was WATER, an element always at hand, and therefore fitly called by its proper*

\* Cet endroit sera l'éternelle et inevitable confusion des Défenseurs du sens FIGURÉ'. Hist. des Var. Tom. i. p. 477. 8vo.

*name.* But the FLESH and BLOOD of the Sacrifice, of which the *Lord's supper* was a festive commemoration, not being then at hand, as Christ was not yet offered on the Cross, the Elements of *Bread and Wine*, substituted in their place were, by an elegant and necessary conversion, called the *body* and *blood*, as these elements only were declarative of the nature of the Rite, viz. a *feast upon Sacrifice*—To support this reasoning still further. Another sacred Rite, that of the *imposition of hands*, in procuring the descent of the HOLY SPIRIT, is called the BAPTISM BY FIRE; in which, both the terms are *figurative*, as, in the *Baptism by Water*, both are literal. And why this difference? Because the Agent or Instrument of this *Baptism by fire* being *spiritual*, there was need of *figurative terms*, taken from material things, to aid the grossness of our conceptions, concerning the manner of the operation. So that all the mystery in this affair (I mean, so far forth as concerns the *terms of the institution*) is no more than this; when the things communicated are of a spiritual nature, as the gifts of the Holy Spirit; or of a material nature not yet *in esse*, as the flesh of a Sacrifice, not yet offered up, and therefore needing another body to be substituted in its place, there, the employing *figurative terms* becomes necessary.

necessary. But when the thing communicated is a material Substance, at hand, and actually capable of being employed, as *Water in Baptism*, it would rather confound, than aid our conceptions, to use *improper*, that is, *figurative* terms.

P. 184. [I]. They had one *common nature* so far as they really conveyed, or were foolishly imagined to convey, benefits to the Participants. But St. Paul joining to the *Christian* and the *Jewish*, the *Gentile* sacrificial Feasts, he thought it *logically* necessary to make a distinction between the *real* and the *imaginary* benefits; which he does in this manner—*What say I then? that an IDOL is any thing; or that which is offered to Idols is any thing? No*, (says he) *both are nothing*, i. e. are equally incapable of conveying benefits. That this must be his meaning, appears from his predicating the same thing both of the *Idol* and the *offering*. Now, as the *offering* had a *PHYSICAL* existence, what hindered but that, in his opinion, the *Idol* might have a *METAPHYSICAL*? Though in an efficacious and *MORAL* sense, Both were *nothing*. This interpretation shews that the Apostle was perfectly consistent, when just before he calls these *Idols* *NOTHING*, and yet, presently after, says they were *DEVILS*, whom, we know, in his opinion,



nion, were SOMETHING. The calling these *Idols, Devils*, served to explain his meaning when he said *Idols were nothing*, to be this, that no *benefit* was to be expected from them. And to intimate yet further, that so far from receiving benefit from *Idols*, their Worshippers, by this intercourse with them, were subject to great harm and mischief. In order to insinuate this latter assertion, the Apostle changes his *first* idea of an *Idol*, which he used in common with the Gentiles, to this *second*, which he, and all the Christians of that time, had of them.—The *Idols*, to whom the Gentiles intentionally sacrificed, were their national Gods, the *celestial Bodies*, their *dead Ancestors*; their *Kings and Benefactors*; all of them, long ago, engrafted into the public worship. From such, the Apostle owns, they could receive neither good nor harm; these being only IDOLS OF THE BRAIN.—But SATAN or the DEVIL, as the Original Author and still the fomentor of Idolatry, makes him properly and peculiarly the IDOL OF THE ALTAR. From such an *Idol*, they, to whom the Apostle writes, must readily confess, much harm would arise from communicating with him, in a *Sacrificial* or sacramental feast.

Of this capital Enemy of Mankind the Gentiles themselves had, somehow or other, received

ed an obscure tradition; plentifully, indeed, contaminated with fable; which they still further polluted with new-invented Superstitions. Yet these still preserving a few traces of resemblance to the *Mosaic History*, and occasioning some conformity between the languages of error and revelation, have drawn unwary men into some dangerous conclusions, as if the Founders of our holy Religion had taken advantage of Pagan follies to form a system of DEMONOLOGY, agreeable to the preconceived fancies of their CONVERTS.—But of this more, in its place. The present occasion rather leads us to admire the Art by which the Sacred Writer has conducted his argument.

P. 229. [K]. It should seem most probable that the *miraculous powers* were, in general, occasional and temporary. But a learned Writer, who has declared himself of this opinion, hath unwarily put the *gift of tongues* into the number.—“ The Gift of Tongues upon the day of Pentecost (says he) *was not lasting, but instantaneous and transitory*; not bestowed upon them for the constant work of the Ministry, but as an *occasional sign only*, that a person endowed with it was a chosen minister of the Gospel: which sign, as soon as it had served that particular

“ ticular purpose, seems to have ceased, and  
 “ totally to have vanished \*.”

Would reason, or the truth of things, suffer us to be thus compliant, we might concede to Unbelievers all which they fancy the Learned Writer hath procured for them, “ that the power  
 “ of tongues was temporary, and, like the power  
 “ of *healing*, possessed occasionally,” without being alarmed at any consequence they will be able to deduce from it. For let it be granted, that the gift of tongues returned as often as they had occasion for its use, and it is no great matter *where* it resided in the interim.

But neither reason, nor the truth of things, will suffer us to be thus complaisant. The power of *healing the diseased* (to which Dr. M. compares the *gift of tongues*) is, during the whole course of its operation, one continued arrest or diversion of the general laws of matter and motion ; it was therefore very fitting that this power should be imparted *occasionally*. But the *gift of tongues*, when once it was conferred, became, from thenceforth, a natural power ; just as the free and perfect use of the members of the Body, after they had been restored, by miracle, to the exercise of their natural func-

\* Dr. Middleton’s Essay on the Gift of Tongues, Vol. II. of his Works, p. 79.

tions.

tions. Indeed, the loss of this *gift of tongues*, after the temporary use of it, would imply *other* miracles, as oft as there was occasion to restore what was lost by actual deprivation. Unless we can suppose that the Apostles, in the exercise of this gift, were merely irrational organs, *Automati*, through which certain sounds were conveyed. In a word, it was as much in the course of nature for an Apostle, when the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost had enabled him to speak a strange language, ever afterwards to have the use of that language, as it was for the Cripple, whom Jesus had restored to the use of his limbs on the sabbath-day, ever afterwards to walk, to run, and perform all the functions of a man perfectly sound and entire.

In one thing, indeed, the power of *healing the diseased*, and of *speaking with strange tongues*, agreed.—As the Disciples could not heal at all times, and when they would; so neither could they speak when they would, in an unknown tongue, when it was first essayed. Yet when the Holy Spirit had once enabled them to speak and understand a Language till then unknown to them, I conceive they must retain the use of it with the same facility as if they had acquired it in the ordinary way of instruction.

But

But the confusion in this matter, and the embarrass which follows it, in the Doctor's stating the Question, arise from not distinguishing between the *active power* and the *passive gift*. In healing the diseased, the Apostles are to be considered as the *Workers of a Miracle*; in speaking a strange tongue, as *Subjects of a miracle performed* \*.

P. 264. [L]. The serious Reader will be ready to ask, what learned discoveries they are, which have encouraged these men to innovate from the common opinion concerning the Gospel Demoniacs? Have they found in the Scripture history of the *Demoniacs* any thing either *hurtful to Morals*, or *false in Physics*? Nothing of either. And yet whatever is found there, they are not the finders.

An excellent Divine of the last age had, in his extensive researches into antiquity, collected, that both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, at and before the time of *Christ*, were infected with one common Superstition, that *Demons* and the *Souls of wicked men deceased* frequently seized upon the

\* He who would see a more complete account of this whole affair and its dependencies, is recommended to the *FIRST BOOK of the Doctrine of Grace, or the Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit*, 3d Edition, Lond. 1763.

*bodies of the living*, and tormented them in various ways. Hence he too hastily, yet with his usual modesty, insinuated, that the *Possessions* recorded in the Gospel, and called *demoniacal*, might be of that imaginary sort; and no other in reality than OCCULT DISEASES; which being intractable by the art of medicine, were supposed to be *supernatural* (as if a good Physician was a match for any thing but the *Devil*).—To the unhappy wretches so afflicted, he supposed that Jesus might apply his salutary hands: and that to this malady, so relieved, the People gave the *fashionable* name by which, at that time, it was commonly distinguished.

Without doubt this truly learned Divine went the more readily into this bold opinion, as he had observed it to have been God's gracious method, in the course of his DISPENSATIONS, to take advantage of men's habitual prejudices, towards the support of his Revelation, by keeping his servants attached to his Ordinances.

But, here, the excellent person should have distinguished (as his Followers \* were not likely to do it for him) between RITES and DOCTRINES. As they were RITES only, of which

\* Dr. Sykes—Dr. Lardner, &c. &c.

God was pleased to avail himself, for the benefit of his People, in order to combat, or to elude their fondness for Pagan usages.—In matters of DOCTRINE, the like compliance was not, nor could be, safely indulged to them, without violating the truth of things; and therefore Sacred Scripture affords us no example of such a condescension. In things pertaining only to *Rites* we have, indeed, many instances. Thus the use of *linen garments, lighted lamps, lustrations*, and a multitude of other usages, in themselves indifferent, were brought out of *false Religions* into the *true*: and this, with high propriety and wisdom, while their new destination sanctified their use; and their use served to the easier introduction of the *new establishment*.—But to assert and support a groundless, superstitious *opinion* (if such it were) of *Diabolical possessions*, would be the infecting and contaminating the Christian Faith.

However, if the admirable Author of this hurtful Novelty did himself miss of so just and obvious a distinction, we have less reason to wonder that those of his Followers, who only aimed at something, by a faint reflection from the other's learning, should not hit (as we have said) upon what their Master had overlooked.

A late

A late eminent Physician, who hath borrowed this notion professedly from this great man, acted a more modest and becoming part. He might pretend, by virtue of his Profession, and still more by his superior skill in it, to a profounder insight into *Nature*: At the same time, *Theology* being in another department, he was the more excusable, if he did not see all that this *Divine Science* opposed to the Opinion; an Opinion, which might be said to descend to him by inheritance from his great name-fake and relation: whose conciseness, strength, and modesty of reasoning, he hath so well copied, that to confute objections so borrowed will be to overthrow the whole System of the *Antidemoniac Party* \*.

In his *Medica Sacra*, he hath a chapter *de dæmoniacis*; in which he hath treated the Evangelic History with all that decency and reverence

\* “ Ut redeam autem ad Dæmoniacos; non mea est, profecto, sed aliorum ante me pietate & doctrina præstantium virorum sententia quam hic propono. Et proximo quidem sæculo, inter nostrates etiam JOSEPHUS MEADUS, Theologus, rerum sacrarum cognitione, nulli secundus, luculenta dissertatione eam propugnabit. *Cum ex eadem, igitur ac illi, familia sim oriundus, &c.*” —Præf. in *Med. Sacr.* p. ix. Authore RICHARDO MEAD.



which becomes a true Scholar and a serious Professor of the Christian Faith.

The first observation I shall make, in the entrance on his argument, is general; and will serve to confute all who have written on the Question. It is this—Our Antidemoniaſts reaſon upon the caſe, not as they find it recorded by the *Evangelists*, but as they ſee it deſcribed only in a treatiſe of Medicine, by Aretæus, Fernelius, or any other of the faculty, where it ſtands unconnected with all *moral* as well as *religious* inquiries. But it hath been ſhewn at large, that theſe *demoniaical poſſeſſions* have a cloſe relation to the Doctrines of REDEMPTION; and were therefore reaſonably to be expected at the firſt promulgation of the GOSPEL. This ſets the matter on quite another footing: and that plauſible reaſoning, which attends the learned perſon's representation, entirely diſappears, when we put the caſe as it was in fact.

1. This proper precaution, againſt ſo defective and foreign a representation of the caſe, being premixed; I now proceed to the reaſoning employed by our learned Phyſician to diſcredit the common Opinion of a *real poſſeſſion*.

His firſt argument ſtands on the extent of the Superſtition, which gave birth to ſo many *imaginary*

*ginary possessions.* “ \* It had not only infected  
 “ the *Mosaic* Religion in particular, but had  
 “ over-run *paganism* in general.” “ As to the  
 “ Jews, who were wont to ascribe whatever  
 “ there was of prodigious in *nature* to the  
 “ MINISTRY OF ANGELS, they were easily  
 “ brought to believe, that those dire diseases,  
 “ which infected the Mind and Body equally  
 “ and at once, and whose causes were unknown,  
 “ could be no other than the work of the  
 “ DEVIL †.”—Let us allow all this—Let us  
 allow that the Jews, at the time of Christ, were  
 very superstitious in this matter. But then the  
 learned Doctor, in his turn, will allow, that the  
 Teachers of the Gospel, in the fulness of their  
 inspiration, must needs be secure from an error,  
 which so dreadfully affected the Religion they

\* At non Judæi tantum, sed et aliis etiam gentibus  
 in usu fuit insanos pro demoniacis habere, p. 76. A  
 Chaldæis quidem ad Phœnices, postea ad Egyptios pro-  
 pagata, ad Græcos deinde, hinc ad Romanos aliasque  
 demum gentes temporis progressu Demoniaca ista Re-  
 ligio pervenit, p. 74.

—† Judæi autem, siquid faceret *Natura*, ad ANGE-  
 LORUM *supremi Dei Ministrorum* operam referri soliti,  
 facile in animum sibi inducere poterant, ut diras quas-  
 dam crederent ægritudines quæ mentem simul et corpus  
 læderent, et quarum causas cognoscere nequirent, ab an-  
 gelorum malorum *invidia*, exoriri, p. 74.

were intrusted to propagate, as *Demonianism* did, if it were an error. And if so, they *knowingly* and designedly gave it countenance and support. But how that will agree with their character and office, we shall see, as we go along.

Our Learned Doctor tells us further, “that the Jews, not only gave credit to the works of the *Devil*, but believed in the *ministry* of ANGELS likewise.”—This seems to be one of those slips of the pen, to which Truth sometimes betrays those who write most cautiously against her; especially when they act the part of Believers; which, however, I will not suspect was the case here. For the *Old Testament*, which the learned Doctor reverences equally with the *New*, bears ample testimony to the *real ministry of Angels*; and with such circumstances attending it, as will not permit a Believing Caviller to evade it, by having recourse to *vision*, *figure*, or *accommodation*. For if the *Angel* who waylaid Balaam may be reduced to a dusky dream, those whom Abraham entertained in Broad daylight were more substantial. When, therefore, the learned Person puts the ministry and malice of good and bad angels on the same footing, he must confess that, if the *reality* of the former be proved, the *reality* of the latter will follow.

As

As to the abounding Superstition, in this matter, both amongst *Jews* and *Gentiles*, I do not see how that, in the least, alters the case. The *Jews*, of this time, by a more enlarged and unrestrained Commerce with their Pagan neighbours, had defiled the purity of their holy Religion by many opinions borrowed from the Gentile *Philosophers*. Thus they took, we may well suppose, the *Doctrine of Demons* from PLATO, and the pre-existence (if not a *future state*) from PYTHAGORAS. Notwithstanding, it is certain, that both *Demoniacal possessions* and *future rewards and punishments* are equally supported by the acts and doctrine of Jesus and his Disciples.

This too, let me observe—The Doctrines of the FALL and of the REDEMPTION (the two principles on which our holy religion rises) are interwoven into the substance of the Christian Faith. If therefore we can suppose *Demonianism* to be only a thread-bare fable, new-dressed, and offered, by way of *accommodation*, to amuse the followers of the *Gospel*, I cannot see what hinders our supposing, with SYNESIUS, a *future state* itself to be no more. Both Opinions had the advantage of old prejudice in their favour. Yet if only one of them were true (namely, that of a *future state*), and the other of *Demonianism*, taught but by way of *accommodation*,

we see, it could hold its ground no otherwise than from the *difficulty* of erasing it from the popular belief: yet so uncomfortable a doctrine, one should think, might be removed with very little trouble.

Nay, Jesus was even invited to help forward, as it were, its discredit, had it been only a delusion. A Father \* mistook his Son's disorder to be LUNACY, when, according to the Historian, it was a DIABOLIC POSSESSION. And as such, Jesus treats it. *He rebukes the DEVIL, who departed out of the Child, and he was cured from that very hour.* And to prevent all mistake in this matter, when the Father had told Jesus that his Disciples could not cure the Child, our Lord, after upbraiding his followers for their *want of faith*, tells them, however, that this *miracle of dispossession*, the most difficult of all, required a more extraordinary preparation for the work, than any other, by acts of piety and humiliation. For which assertion an obvious reason may be assigned, this *victory over Satan* being a certain mark, that the *Redemption* was completed and accomplished, this evidence of it was fitly reserved to be bestowed on the most perfect of the followers of Christ. Yet had the Satanic part been only a popular

\* Matt. xvii. 15.

fancy, Jesus here might have decried it with advantage, while he had the Father of the sufferer on his side ; who considered his Son's disease as a *Lunacy* only.

It may be said, perhaps, that the Doctrines of a *future state*, and that of *Demoniacal possessions*, which I put upon the same footing of Credibility (because the Gospel hath so put them), differ in this, that a *future state* may be proved by natural reason, which *Demoniacal possessions* cannot.—But what doth this objection infer more than this ? that a *future state* makes part of NATURAL RELIGION ; and *Demoniacal possessions*, a part of the REVEALED.

2. The ingenuous Discourser brings another objection to these *possessions*—Having collected together all the SYMPTOMS of this disorder, from *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, he concludes thus—  
 “ All these are the *Symptoms* of a natural disorder. They are more surprising, indeed,  
 “ than those of other disorders, yet nothing  
 “ supernatural \*.”—His learned Fellow Collegiate, Dr. J. Freind, treating the same subject, after he hath given us, from *Ætius* and Ori-

\* —*Infanorum sunt hæc omnia ; utrum vero a Dæmoniis, an vi morbi provenerint, disceptatur—neque enim alius quisquam inter omnes, qui humanum genus infestant, morbus tam naturæ vim excedere videtur, p. 66.*

bafius, a description of the madness called *Ly-cantrophy*, of which, one of the most striking SYMPTOMS was a fondness to *wander amongst the Sepulchres of the dead*, adds—*the Demoniac in the Scriptures, who was POSSESSED WITH A LIKE SORT OF MADNESS, is represented as having his dwelling amongst the Tombs* \*.

The opinion of these two learned Naturalists is founded, we see, in this circumstance—"that  
 " the *Symptoms* of a demoniacal possession are  
 " the same with those of some natural disorders."—But now, if *evil spirits* were permitted to disturb the vital functions of the human frame, whether in the solids, the fluids, or in both together; can we have any conception how this could be effected without causing or occasioning, in *supernatural disorders*, the very same SYMPTOMS which accompany *natura' maladies*? These Symptoms, in both cases, must arise from the disturbance of the material Frame, and can arise no otherwise; and those disturbances, whether produced by a spiritual Agent, or by material causes, must produce the same *sensible* effects. *Madness*, for instance, whether occasioned by the malignity of an intelligent Agent *ab extra*, or by discordant humours *ab intra*, will be still *madness*, and accompanied

\* Hist. of Physic, Part I. p. 16—21.

with the same Symptoms. That appearance; therefore, which must accompany a *Demoniacal possession*, IF REAL, can never by any rules of logic be converted into a reasonable argument for the falsehood of such a possession.

It is worth observation, that one of the *Evangelists* being a Physician, our learned Critic, by a very becoming partiality, prefers him to the rest. ST. LUKE (he tells us) being superior to them *for the purity and accuracy of his expression, when there is occasion to speak of distempers, or of the cure of them; and is more particular in reciting all the miracles of our Saviour in relation to healing, than the other Evangelists are* \*.

All this is true; and yet St. Luke speaks the very same language with the rest concerning *demoniacal possessions*. Now if the *Gospel Demoniacs* were men only labouring under natural disorders, a Physician, by his deeper insight into Nature, with the assistance of inspiration to boot, was very likely to have discovered the mistake; and for the glory of his art as likely to have recorded it: especially as the detection of it was the over-turning a hurtful Superstition. And we know how ready these benevolent Gentlemen have ever been to detect

\* Hist. Phys. Part I. p. 223—225.



**VULGAR ERRORS.**—Not to insist, at present, that St. Luke was guided, in so good a work, by a stronger passion than *honour for his profession*, as a Physician, that is, *a love for truth*, as an Evangelist.

This, as we say, must have been the case in *diabolic possessions*, where the *Body only* was thus supernaturally affected. Yet in those, where the *mind* alone, or equally with the *body*, suffered by these disorders, I confess, we might expect some extraordinary marks or symptoms of supernatural Agency, when it was for the purpose of the EVIL SPIRIT to display his Power. Here the *immaterial* principle within us affords larger room, and more conveniences to be acted upon, by an exterior agent : although the irregular efforts of the mind itself are so wonderful as to be frequently mistaken for a foreign agency.

Yet this notwithstanding, there are, in these mental disorders, powers exhibited, that can never be mistaken, by a careful observer, for *its own*.

Some of which are, in fact, recorded to have been exerted; in order, as it were, to confute these learned men, who seem to think we ought to reject all *diabolic possessions* but such as are ascertained by Symptoms supernatural.

An

An instance of such we have in \* the *Damsel possessed with the Spirit of DIVINATION*, who brought her Master much gain by SOOTHSAYING. This Woman, Paul dispossessed, and so spoiled her Master's trade; who thereupon raised a fierce persecution against the Apostle.

The *symptoms of Divination and Soothsaying*, that is, telling of things absent, and foretelling things future, were certainly supernatural; and, for such, must be acknowledged by the Objectors; who I hope will not yet forget the Personages, they have assumed, of Believers: against whom only this reasoning on the *Demoniacs* is directed and addressed.

Having now seen what these learned Writers have to oppose to *my* System of the Gospel-Demoniacs:

I crave leave, in the next place, to bespeak their attention to what I have to urge against *theirs*. Enough hath been said to shew that this is no trifling or unimportant Question.

The untoward consequences being these, which unavoidably follow the Concession, that Jesus and his Disciples did only *accommodate* themselves to the fanciful and superstitious opinions of the times, in placing natural distempers in the visionary Class of *Supernatural*.

\* Acts xvi. 16, & seq.

1. Unbelievers may conclude (and by too many they will be supposed not to conclude amiss) that much advantage is hereby gained over the Evidences of our Faith.—While it is believed, from the testimony of the Evangelists, that *Jesus cast out Devils, and healed such as were possessed with them*, that plausible subterfuge against his miraculous cures, which pretends that the relief afforded \* . . . .

\* See Sermon *On the Fall of Satan*, which completes this Note. R. W.

# **A P P E N D I X;**

**CONTAINING**

**I. THREE SERMONS,  
ON DIFFERENT SUBJECTS;**

**II. DIRECTIONS FOR THE  
STUDY OF THEOLOGY;**

**III. REMARKS ON NEAL'S  
HISTORY OF THE  
PURITANS.**



*Christ's Legacy of Peace to his Disciples.*

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A

S E R M O N

P R E A C H E D B E F O R E

T H E K I N G,

A T K E N S I N G T O N , O C T . 27 , 1754 .

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GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN, Chap. XIV. Ver. 27.

PEACE I LEAVE WITH YOU; MY PEACE  
I GIVE UNTO YOU: NOT AS THE WORLD  
GIVETH, GIVE I UNTO YOU.

**T**HE blessed Founder of our Faith,  
to shew us the superiority of the  
advantages which Religion offers to his  
faithful Servants, bequeaths to them this  
inestimable Legacy of *Peace*.

All temporal good results into one or other of these two blessings, *Pleasure* and *Peace*. The *first* more strongly solicites the *sensual* appetites; the *second*, the *intellectual*: That strikes more forceably on the *fancy*; *this*, on the *understanding*. *Pleasure* is the early and single object of the young and dissipated: but *Peace* is the harbour of the wise and experienced. In *Pleasure* the pursuit of happiness is generally *begun*; and in *Peace*, the pursuit of it as generally *ends*. For the *organs of sense*, being the instruments through which *pleasure* is conveyed for the mind's enjoyment, they are soon put out of order, by excess; or rendered unfit by long use, for the discharge of that part of their functions. For by abuse, or unremitting use, the body becomes so disordered, or the mind so insensible, that *pleasure* degenerates into pain, disgust, or indifference: And the Mind, fatigued in the fruitless search of happiness, finds at length that it is no where to be had but in *peace* and tranquillity of mind.—And in the *enjoyment of peace*, the mind becomes gradually strengthened and fortified; as in the *exercise of pleasure*,

*sure*, it is more and more debilitated and broken.

For *peace* repairs all the faculties of the mind, just as *pleasure* wears them out. And age and time, which take off all the vigorous sense of pleasure, add still a new taste and relish to inward *peace*: The mind which, during its hurry and violent attachment to pleasure, overlooked the sweet allurements of *peace*, being, by the subdual or subsidence of the more violent passions, now become attentive to, and sensible of, the soft and gentle impressions of tranquillity.

Our blessed Master, therefore, could not bestow, at his departure, a richer Legacy on his faithful Servants, than this of *inward peace*: the security and reward of Virtue, and the balm of the *wounded spirit*.

But as the *Giver*, so was the *gift*, *Divine*. And though a *temporal* good, yet so purified, ennobled, and exalted by Religion, as to accompany us through these dark regions of sorrow (over which it throws a constant sunshine), and to pass with us to the celestial realms of joy and immortality.



But there is an Impostor, a Counterfeit of this *Peace*, which restless and overburthened mortals are always seeking for in vain. This Phantom is ever flitting before us, and assuming a variety of Forms to engage the pursuit of the mistaken follower; who, when he thinks to hold her in his grasp, finds nothing but empty air; though Fancy have embodied it in all the specious shapes of *wisdom, power, wealth, reputation, glory*, and every gaudy Form, which draws deluded mortals to seek for *peace* amidst their *miseries*.

To these Counterfeits, our gracious Master alludes, when he distinguishes the *genuine blessing*, which is his gift, from these wretched inventions of Men. *My Peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you*: Words that imply an immense difference both in the GIFT and in the GIVER.

Let us first then consider, What that *Peace* is which the World promises to bestow upon its Votaries; and where it is to be found.

The *World* would think it strange, if we should deny, that *peace* is to be found in what it calls *wisdom, power, wealth, reputation, and glory*. Yet it is certain, that when sought for amongst *any* or *all* of these, no more is to be found than the mere *shadow* of peace ; and generally not *so much*.

Human *wisdom*, or science, bids fairest to content the *reasonable mind* ; because the object of knowledge is *nature*, and the object of the fairest branches of knowledge, *human nature*, whose perceptions and ideas it attempts to trace ; and whose passions and appetites it pretends to regulate : yet, wanting those principles, discoverable only by *Revelation*, which teaches man's *true end*, and which excites his endeavours to the attainment of it, human knowledge only fluctuates in the *head*, but comes not near the *heart*, where peace of mind is engendered. While the whole state of the *Sage* or *Man of Wisdom*, though set off with all the trappings and gaudy equipage of Letters, is a state of anxiety and disquiet, of doubt and disappointment.

If *peace* then keep at such a distance from worldly wisdom, we can hardly think she will become more intimate with *Power* and *Grandeur*: where, instead of restraint on the passions and appetites (which *Wisdom* attempts) every thing concurs to raise and inflame them. Now inordinate and irregular appetites are the immediate *bane* and destruction of *inward peace*.

But it is not only from *within*, but from *without* also, that *peace* is violated by *power*. In the pursuit of *Wisdom* all our Concurrants are our assistants, and sometimes our Guides and Directors. And every Rival's acquisition is an addition to our own store. But in the pursuit of *power* it is just the contrary: All our Concurrants are our Enemies: every advantage of theirs throws *us* further back from the point we had in view: and *their* successes prove fatal to our own projects. For *corporeal* good is, in this, essentially different from *mental*; it lessens by communicating, and suffers an exclusive appropriation. And as the rivalry for corporeal advantages is, for this reason, as well as others, always more violent and constant,  
the

the Candidate for *power* has generally but a small share of *peace*: for the same struggle continues as constantly, and often as violently, *after* the acquisition of Power as *during* the pursuit of it.

*Riches*, the next pretended means of *Peace*, are still less efficacious to procure us this blessing.—If wealth be attended with the avarice of *hoarding*, it so narrows and contracts the mind as not to leave sufficient entrance to *Peace*; or at least that entrance is so guarded by *anxiety* for the present, *fearful apprehensions* of the future, and *mistrust* of every thing about us, that *Peace* flies frightened from so inhospitable a dwelling.

And if the rich man *employs* his wealth, as wealth is *commonly employed*, it brings on a large train of uneasy wants, and unruly appetites; which, as oft as they are relieved, are succeeded, in an endless succession, by *new wants* and *returning appetites*; every one more absurd and fantastic, more mischievous and unnatural, than the other. So that there is no interval for *peace* to get footing in a mind so agitated, distracted and

disappointed, by the *solicitation*, the *variety*, and the *emptiness* of its objects.

But it will be said, that *fame and glory*, sure, if nothing else, will amply afford this *peace*. And, indeed, if any worldly Charm could sooth and lull the soul into this sweet Elysium, it must be the sense of this high prerogative of humanity. And it will be owned, that as the other advantages tend to *contract* and *narrow* the mind, so *Glory* as naturally *dilates* and *enlarges* it ; and, by that means, prepares and fits it for the reception of this soft felicity : For all *perturbations* arise from the *uneasy narrowing the mind by selfishness*.

Yet if we consider how *worldly fame and glory* are *commonly* acquired, we shall find, that there are some circumstances attending it, which must for ever keep peace a *Stranger*, or at least a very *precarious Guest*.

*Eloquence, Civil Policy, and Military Honours*, are the three great entrances to *Glory*. Yet how oft is the one employed in defence of falsehood and wrong ; the other in the arts of circumvention ; and the third amidst the horrors of unjust conquest ? But these  
matters

matters are best left to every man's particular meditation.

On the whole, we see what a delusion it is, which the world presents unto us, when it pretends to give us that greatest blessing here below, *inward peace*.

But as empty, and as *trifling* as the *present* is, even under its *best* form, it becomes still more worthless by the *caprice* and *injustice* of the *Giver*.

For these advantages, by which peace is supposed to be obtained, the world distributes with such injustice, with so little regard to true merit, that we generally find them shared (indeed not equally) by the worthless and by the deserving. Nor is there less caprice and inconstancy in the *continuance* of the world's favours : which, as it often gives without desert, as often resumes and takes away without cause. So that, even though *peace of mind* were indeed dependant on its smiles, the possession of this *peace* would be the most *precarious* of all things.

The Sages of Antiquity, who made the most diligent enquiry after this *peace*, were

forced at last to confess this supreme blessing of humanity was not to be found without the aid of some *Celestial Guide*.

At that juncture, when the Guide was seen to be most wanted, he was sent by our Almighty Father, with all the heavenly attributes of *Grace* and *Peace* ; who, having compleated his ordained Ministry, to prepare his followers for the reception of this gift, and to direct them how to preserve and improve it, when it was bestowed, left them with the divine farewell of my text : *Peace I leave with you : my Peace I give unto you : not as the world giveth, give I unto you.*

This *peace* consists in a full and pleasing consciousness of pardon and restoration to God's favour, through the blood of his Son, on our sincere repentance.

The immediate Giver of this Peace is the *Holy Spirit*. Hence, in reference to the *mysterious conveyance*, and the *supernatural fruits* of the Gift, it is called a *peace that passeth all understanding*. That is, such a *peace* as humanity is not able to procure for itself ; or to preserve when procured, without the assisting grace of God's Holy Spirit.

And

And now we may be able to see the immense difference there is between this *peace*, and that which the world pretends to give, both in its *nature* and *duration*.

The Passions and Appetites are the deadly bane to all tranquillity of mind : and these, *this peace* totally subdues, by submitting *our will* to the *will of God*. In the mean time, our full assurance of *favour* with *him* *our supreme good*, fills up the *great void* of the mind ; which now enjoys, and is greatly affected with nothing but its own conscious content, tranquillity, and joy.

Again, this solid blessing is given, not as the world pretends to give its wretched Counterfeits ; that is, *capriciously, unjustly, or precariously*.

As this *Peace* dwells only in the mind purified by the love of God and Man, and hatred of iniquity ; so, while the mind continues in that state, its *peace* is as lasting and solid as the foundations of the earth.

And whatever casual pollution the good man may contract by presumption, negligence, or commerce with an evil World, which may abate or disorder *inward peace* ;  
For



For this, the Gracious Giver has contrived an instant and efficacious remedy, *sincere repentance*: by which all the breaches in our peace are repaired, and the heavenly tranquillity of mind restored to its full vigour, through the *mediation* of our blessed *Lord and Redeemer*;—to whom, with the Father and Holy Spirit, be all glory for evermore.

*Iniquity the Cause of Unbelief.*

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A

S E R M O N

PREACHED AT

L I N C O L N ' S   I N N ,

N O V E M B E R 11, 1759.

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ST. MATT. Chap. xxiv. Ver. 12.

AND BECAUSE INIQUITY SHALL ABOUND,  
THE LOVE OF MANY SHALL WAX COLD.

**T**HESE words are to be found in the famous Prophecy of Jesus, in which the predictions of his *first* coming to judge the Jews, in the destruction of Jerusalem; and his *second* coming to judge mankind, in the destruction of the World and renovation of all things; are interwoven with one another.

And

And in these words is foretold that general apostacy from the *Faith*, of which the Sacred Writers have so frequently forewarned the faithful, as the characteristic mark of the *latter times*—*The love of many* [the adherence of the greater part to the Faith] *shall wax cold*: The *cause* of this apostacy is foretold likewise, *because Iniquity shall abound*.

This melancholy but important truth, may be supported by considerations drawn, 1st, from the *nature of things*; and 2dly, from the experience of our own times.

Though nothing be more common than to see men's opinions and practices at variance; because the *judgment* draws one way, and the *passions* another; and because, generally, men are neither masters of one nor of the other, to take them up and lay them down at pleasure; and so have it not in their power to suit their opinions to their practices, or their practices to their opinions, as they see fit: yet this contrariety and opposition is a very uneasy situation; and the more so, from the difficulty of removing it. Hence the various arts and  
con-

contrivances of the *wicked heart*, to delude itself, in procuring a set of principles, that may support Men, at least give them no uneasiness, in their practices.

But if the received principles or opinions (such as those of the Christian faith) not only shew the falshood, the folly, and the absurdity of vice ; and that it is not only destructive of our rational nature *here*, but of our very being *hereafter* ; then the wicked man, who is resolved not to part with his vices, and yet finds himself crossed and disturbed by these opinions, which he had imbibed in his education, and afterwards approved in his judgment, will never rest till he has *perverted* that judgment, by sophistical reasonings against the *truth* of his opinions. And sophistical reasonings, at best, even when seconded by a willing mind, always carrying their suspicions along with them, the self-deluded victim to his vices is still for trying their force upon his acquaintance, in order to establish them more firmly in himself. Hence that preposterous zeal, observed in modern unbelievers, for making converts ; which has  
always

always appeared to pious observers so extremely monstrous ; but which, we find, has a very obvious cause in the very nature of infidelity itself.

Thus we see, how truly *Iniquity* is assigned as the *cause* of that general *apostacy* from the Christian faith, predicted to be the Character of these latter days. *And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.*

And here, before I proceed to my second head, it may not be amiss to observe, how much this check upon vice is to the honour of the Christian Faith ; a check so great, that vice cannot proceed in its course, till this obstruction to it be removed. In the Pagan and Mahometan Religions, both of antient and modern times, wicked men were never under this necessity : nor have we ever heard that they quarreled with their Religion, because they wanted to enjoy their vices in peace. Their opinions and practices subsisted together in a very friendly manner. And we find, much nearer home, that those men who have quarreled with their baptismal Faith for the sake of their  
vices,

vices, profess themselves to be the followers of *natural Religion*; which being what each man pleases to make it, it is very easy for them to prevent its becoming *troublesome* to their vices; and is therefore a very *commodious*, as it is a very *reputable*, profession of Religion.

But I now anticipate the subject of the second head I proposed to speak to in support and explanation of my text; which was, that the experience of the present times amply confirms its truth, that *abounding of iniquity* is the true cause *why the love of many* for the Christian faith *is waxed cold*: or of that general defection from Christianity which has now spread itself throughout all orders and degrees of men.

A mere *general view* of the state of things is alone sufficient to evidence this truth. When was there so great a defection from the Religion of our Forefathers? and when did profligate iniquity so much abound? The estimate of the *quantity* of national vice is indeed hard to make. But this we may be assured of, that when *Vice* stalks triumphant, and without disguise; when  
apologies

apologies are made for the national benefits resulting from private vices ; and when it is openly maintained that Government cannot be carried on without *corruption* ; we may be assured, that *Vice* has spread more generally, and has taken deeper root, than while it sneaked about in disguise ; while it denied its Parentage, and pretended to be related to *Virtue*.

But we have a surer evidence of the truth of my text. We need but look about us and consider who have been the most zealous propagators of Infidelity throughout this present Century ; and who have been their most devoted followers ; and we shall find that both have been as notorious (whether in high stations or in low) for vice and *corruption*, as for the profligate principles of *unbelief*. So that there was small danger of being mistaken, when we *saw* a man *glorying* in his Iniquities, to conclude that he was a *Rogue upon Principle*, that is, a Freethinker : as on the other hand, when we *heard* a man profess his disbelief of the Religion of his Country, that he was a *corrupt Knave*, whether in a public or in a private Station.

Even

Even great learning and superiority of parts, the best security, next to *Grace*, against Infidelity (and what has in fact secured the generality of exalted geniuses against this contagion) if unhappily joined with a very *corrupt heart*, have not been of force sufficient to guard men against this evil. So much has their present ease and the silencing of a clamorous Conscience got the better of all the convictions of Reason.

To this it may be objected, that many wicked men have professed the highest regard for religion: as, on the other hand, some unbelievers have been very moral men.

Both these assertions will deserve to be considered. There is no question, but that through *various* stages of wickedness, so *rational* a Religion, in which men have been brought up and educated, will stick closely by them. But the horror of this state, which the constant upbraidings of conscience must occasion, makes them naturally fly for ease and respite from their torments. If *grace* abounds, they will be



enabled to shake off their *vices*: If the *World* prevails, they will chuse to part with their *Religion*. Distracted by such contrary impulses, it will not be long ere they part with one or the other: and the overabounding of *wicked example* encourages worldly men, in general, to make a wrong choice. This is the condition of the first stages of life: but it being a very *unnatural* state (men *naturally* pursuing ease) we may be sure, it will not continue long. Whenever therefore an old determined veteran in vice perseveres in the *profession* of a Religion, which denounces the most dreadful sentence on his perseverance in Iniquity, and pretends a *zeal* for *this* Religion, we may safely pronounce him to be a consummate Hypocrite. And if we attentively consider, we shall never be at a loss to account for the trouble he gives himself, in putting on, and still wearing so hazardous a mask. We shall find it to be either his *profession*, his *station*, his *connexions*, or some *lower personal Interest*, that obliges him to profess his attachment to religion. Or if haply these marks be difficult to find, there are  
others,

others, which never fail to betray this species of Hypocrisy. Such as these; this pretended Religionist always makes the *truth* to be the same thing with what happens to be the *established*. He therefore joins with the *real Bigot*, to discourage all enquiries into truth, and is the first to decry and persecute the Inquirer.—And so much for the *Religion* of the *habitual Sinner*.

As to the other part of the objection, *that some Unbelievers have been moral men*. This will amount to no more than an *exception to a general rule*, which says that Unbelievers are commonly wicked men. And the causes which produce the *exception* are easily accounted for.

Unbelief has of late become so fashionable, that its advocates have formed and fashioned it into a kind of system, and supported and adorned it with all the arts of sophistry and false reasoning: so that it would be no wonder if, here and there, a moral man of cool appetites and enfeebled reason, seduced by specious appearances, should chance to do credit to this miserable Philosophy. This

joined to a vanity of doing honour to a sect (so much and justly spoken against by sober men, for the *immoralities* of its professors) may possibly produce a *moral free-thinker*. But such a phænomenon is extremely rare: So rare, that, of all our leaders in Infidelity (and England has produced a greater swarm than almost all the world besides), we hear but of one or two, who ever passed for honest men. And the man who had this luck, though he got the character of temperance, justice, candour, charity, in his commerce with the world, yet it is well known to all who have seen his writings, that, in the management of controversy, he has knowingly violated both truth and charity.

On the whole then, we cannot but conclude with the text, that *because of the abounding of Iniquity the love of many, for our holy faith, has waxed cold.*

But we are not to expect that these *apostates* will own that *Iniquity* is the *cause* of their apostacy. They have always assigned other causes of it, which in their opinion  
clears

*Iniquity the Cause of Unbelief.* 405

clears them from all suspicion of unjust prejudice or prevention. And these are,

1st, The immoral and unexemplary lives of the Clergy. And,

2dly, The irrational system of Christianity.

Let us examine both these pretences.

They will not believe the truth of the Christian Religion on account of the unsanctified Lives of its ministers. But what has this to do with the *truth* or *falsehood* of a Revelation established upon full evidence, evidence which has nothing to do with the personal Character of its ministers? Was irresistible Grace promised, by this Religion, to them, something might be said for so absurd a conclusion ; which infers the falsehood of a Religion from the follies of its Pastors. But since they continue men, as other men are, as well *after* they have devoted themselves to the service of the altar, as *before*, and liable to all the common infirmities of humanity, no conclusion can be drawn from their personal discredit, to the discredit of

that Religion which they so unworthily serve.

Again, as to the irrational and absurd tenets of the Religion itself. It is certain no such could come from God. And if our Religion teaches that such did come from him, this were fully sufficient to discredit it. But our free-thinkers should have been *assured* of what they say, by a careful study of the Scriptures themselves, before they advanced so heavy a charge against the Religion of their Country. And so doubtless they would, had not the prejudices arising from their *Iniquities* made them very *desirous* that Religion should be a false and fictitious thing; and therefore they received *any thing* that came to them under the name of *Christianity* (so it would serve their purpose to decry and dishonour it), without examining whether it was the *genuine Gospel* of Christ, or no; nay, under a strong suspicion, and sometimes, a sure conviction, that it was not. The truth is, they knowingly give us the doctrines of Men, for the doctrines of *God*; and then, from the absurdities of *sects* and *parties*, of *sums* and *systems*, argue against  
the

the truth of the *Gospel*. I said, *knowingly*; for, at other times, when they have been disposed to abuse the Clergy, they have produced these very doctrines as *their* adulterate manufacture; which, when they argued against Religion itself, they called the *doctrines of the Gospel*. What are we then to conclude from this conduct, both with regard to their objections to the *ill lives of the Clergy*, and to the *absurdity of the Christian tenets*, but that they were ashamed to own to others the *true cause* of their *Infidelity*, and for their own ease would even endeavour to hide it from themselves; and, in its stead, would obtrude upon us other more *specious* causes; which yet are in themselves so inconclusive, that, but for the reason above, they would not have ventured to build upon them so important an affair as that of their own salvation? If these men therefore would persuade us that they are, as they so loudly proclaim themselves, sincere inquirers after truth, let them, by way of experiment only, cast off their vices, reform their lives, and conform a little to the moral precepts

of the Gospel : and if then these formidable objections against Revelation still wear the same face, and do not shrink into nothing, we will believe them to be honest and sincere ; which, to believe *before*, would be an *excess* of charity, that even the benevolent Genius of the Gospel would not excuse, or support.

The conclusion and inference from the whole is this, that it is infinitely to the discredit of modern infidelity, and as much to the honour of our holy faith, that it is *Iniquity* which makes unbelievers. For how miserable must that Cause be, where the true reason of their rejecting Revelation is one of the marks of its truth, namely, the vengeance of Heaven against vice and immorality ! No one can think, had this Religion only offered Rewards for *Believers*, that ever there would have been such a thing as an Unbeliever ; and yet this would have been a certain mark of its falsehood, as it is of the Mahometan and other superstitions. But as soon as ever it proves its pretensions from Heaven, by pronouncing misery to Vice, as well as happiness

pinels to Virtue, *then* the world begins to swarm with Freethinkers.

On the other hand, what can be more for the honour of a Religion, than that it drives from it all determined wickedness, as not able to bear the splendor of its visage ; especially when we consider that this same Religion, so terrible to hardened Vice, bears the most benignant aspect to a repentant sinner, whom she invites to her bosom, and to whom she communicates all her comforts and consolations ?

Let therefore such who have been so unhappily deluded by their sins as to rivet them into their nature, by a fatal *Unbelief*, view and contemplate this *rejected Religion* on this side, where with so much pity and compassion she throws out her arms, to recover these her deluded Children from final perdition. Thè frequent contemplation of this would, with the Grace of God (always at hand to assist the honest endeavours of men), at last enable them to break their fetters, recover their liberty, and return again into one fold, under one Shepherd, *Jesus Christ the Righteous.* Amen.

*True*



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*True Christians, the Salt of the Earth.*

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A

S E R M O N  
PREACHED BEFORE  
T H E K I N G,  
MARCH 12, 1769.

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MATT. V. 13.

YE ARE THE SALT OF THE EARTH. BUT  
IF THE SALT HAVE LOST ITS SAVOUR,  
WHEREWITH SHALL IT BE SALTED?  
IT IS FROM THENCEFORTH GOOD FOR  
NOTHING BUT TO BE CAST OUT, AND  
TO BE TRODDEN UNDER FOOT.

OUR Blessed Master hath here, in an  
happy union of scientific and popular  
instruction, arising from the joint aid of  
the sentiment and the expression, supported  
a particular truth on a general principle.

The

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The *particular truth* is, that the loss of the *Salt*, or genuine spirit of Christianity, cannot be supplied by any human expedient whatsoever : and it is supported on this *general Principle*, that every thing hath its *Salt* or essential quality, which makes it to be what it is ; and, without which, it is no longer the same, having degenerated into another thing.

Much of our blessed Master's instruction pointed to future corruptions in his holy Religion ; for at the time when he first impregnated the world with, what he here calls, *the salt of the Earth*, there could be little danger of its *losing its savour* during that generation.

The observation was made to be *recorded* by the sacred Penmen ; that when this *loss* or decay of *savour* should arrive, we might *remember* (to use his own words) *that he had told us of it*.

And it is one of the miserable Prerogatives that we, the Ministers of his word in these latter ages, have to boast of, above our happier Predecessors, that we are able to illustrate the divinity of our holy Faith  
by

by the completion of many Prophecies, which foretold the degeneracy of the Christian Church.

But though I shall not forget the *particular Truth* inculcated in my Text, yet it is my purpose, first of all, to shew from the *general maxim* on which it is supported, that the gracious warning, contained in the observation, holds good with regard to every state and condition of human life, as well civil as religious ; that where the *Salt* or essential quality of a thing, that which constitutes its being what it is, happens to be lost or depraved, nothing can prevent the destruction of the subject in which that quality resided : no succedaneum, no adventitious quality, having the virtue or efficacy to supply its place.

To explain my meaning by the trite example of the *Body-natural*, employed, on all occasions, to illustrate the various fortunes and situations of the *Body-politic*.

In the human frame, the essential quality of the eye is its capacity of vision ; of the ear, to receive and modulate sounds ; of the palate, to distinguish favours ; and so, of  
the

the rest. Now when the qualities appropriated to each organ of sense are lost or depraved, we find it impossible for their functions to be discharged, or their defects to be supplied by any succedaneum whatsoever. The viciated part must for ever lye useless, till the mischiefs attending the cessation of its functions end in the destruction of that body which such parts were formed and designed, by the divine Architect, to serve and support.

Just so it is in the several orders and stations of Society; which are the members, as it were, of the great Body-politic.

Suppose then the *Salt* or essential qualities of one of these members be *Frugality and Simplicity*; of another, *Learning*; of another, *Wisdom*; and of the twofold Body itself, in one part, *Love of our Country*; in the other, *Piety*: When all, or any of these, no longer operate by their respective faculties, the common Body to which they belong will soon fall into a consumptive decay.

This serious and melancholy truth our divine Master hath plainly intimated, in  
that

that elegant figure of *Salt which hath lost its flavour.*

I shall therefore first endeavour to explain the importance of his words, as they are founded on the *general Principle*, in their more enlarged and general sense : By which you may understand the helpless condition of *Society*, when any of its capital members are deprived of their essential qualities. So that, in whatsoever part you find this *Salt to have lost*, or to be in danger of losing, *its flavour*, you may hasten to restore it, or to preserve it in its natural state, instead of hoping by quack inventions to supply its place.

I. To begin with the PEOPLE. The *Salt* of this gross Body, that by which it is kept sweet, are modesty, industry, parsimony, and simplicity of manners.

How far these qualities now make, or mark, the characteristic of the People, we all see.

Instead of that *modesty*, by which the English Populace, till of late, have been so advantageously distinguished, a censorial spirit, not of their hearts but of their heads,  
hath

hath got possession of them. They erect themselves into Controllers of the conduct of their Governors ; they prescribe laws to the Legislature ; and rise in tumults against the sentence of public Justice. In prosperity, they are insolent ; in adversity, outrageous. A People turbulent and servile ; mutinous and corrupt ; impatient in want ; improvident in abundance ; and equally unawed by the uplifted hand of Heaven and the Magistrate.

That *Parimony and simplicity of manners*, which had long supported their station in ease and credit, are now lost in the distresses attending luxury and riot. Hence, mad factious, and criminal associations, which shake, and threaten to overturn, the very foundations of Society.

And now, wherewith shall this *unfavoury* Body be *salted*? They are ready to tell you, with that air of Sovereignty which they have assumed—By their large and extensive Commerce ; that spring-tide of Riches ; which they believe (if they believe in any thing) will set the shattered Vessel

of the Commonwealth, now stranded by these wretched Pilots, once again on float.

But this gilded pageant will only add to our disorders. For a flow of wealth, which, regulated by the essential qualities of a virtuous People, would have set all to rights, will serve only to extend the luxury, to encourage the dissipation, and to enflame the insolence and riot, of a lawless crew of miscreants.

II. The MINISTERS OF RELIGION acquire their honoured character from their LOVE OF TRUTH, manifested in the cultivation of GOOD LETTERS. And none have surpassed the English clergy in the glorious exercise of these essential qualities. They rose to that distinction, and, indeed, they could rise no otherwise, by the mutual aid which those two qualities imparted to one another.

Now if ever the *Salt* of this sacred order should become vapid (which Heaven avert !) by a coldness for *Truth* and an indifference for *Letters*, one may easily guess what contrivances will be employed, and to how  
little

little purpose, to preserve appearances, when the virtue and efficacy of things are lost.

An affected MODERATION will try to soften, when it cannot warm, that rigid *coldness*; and a blush of MODESTY will be assumed to animate that lifeless *indifference*. But these painted virtues will not bear the weather: this *moderation* will fade, and betray the pallid hue of IGNORANCE; and this *modesty* soon appear to be only the varnish of SCEPTICISM.

Now though counterfeits do, in the very act, bear testimony to the excellence of the genuine qualities they usurp (and we know that MODESTY commonly attends, and always adds a lustre to Truth; and MODERATION best recommends the *Teachers* of it to the world); yet counterfeits can never supply the place of those Virtues they have dispossessed.

III. MINISTERS OF STATE, next to Ministers of Religion; deserve our highest reverence. Their *Salt*, or essential qualities, are WISDOM and GOOD FAITH. On these the success as well as justice of public



measures depend. These make them beloved at home, and confided in abroad. Such have been those Pilots of the Commonwealth, who, from time to time, have safely steered the public vessel through all those dangers to which the stormy and tempestuous nature of our Free Constitution perpetually expose it.

Now whenever it shall happen, that this Ministerial *Salt* shall have *lost its flavour*, is become insipid or corrupt, no expedients (though EXPEDIENTS be the Statesman's Asylum) will afford us its Virtue. Yet CUNNING and CIRCUMVENTION have been so long employed to hold the place of *Wisdom* and *good Faith*, that it, at length, became a question, which of these two kinds was the native and genuine *Salt* of the Politician ; though the History of Mankind had amply explained the difference ; and long experience had so fully convinced the Statesman himself, of the small use of *cunning* and *circumvention* in the conduct of public affairs, that he had learned to turn them, with more success, for the advancement of his own ; in evading the force of

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that

*True Christians, the Salt of the Earth.* 419

that opposition he was unable to withstand ; and in engrossing more power than he knew how to use.

IV. But now, from the partial and subordinate stations in Society, let us come to the *whole Community* itself ; and see what is the *Salt*, and what are the essential qualities of this vast Body, this *Leviathan*, of whom it is said—*upon Earth there is not his like*\*, in whose *parts and power and comely proportion*† (to use the language of the sacred Writer) are contained two Societies, the *civil* and the *religious* : to each of which, every individual, in a different capacity, belongs. The essential quality of the *civil*, is the *love of man*, manifested by the service of the Public : the essential quality of the *religious*, is the *love of God*, manifested in the practice of virtue and piety.

1. For, in the first part, individuals associating to obtain those worldly blessings which civil policy only can bestow, the genuine and most natural concern of each

\* Job, xli. 33.

† Ver. 12.

is THE WELFARE OF THE WHOLE. Hence that reasonable pursuit, and most *heroic* (though heroism be a passion seldom joined with reason), the LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY. Transported with *this*, and sacrificing all other passions to *this*, nations and people have, from the lowest and basest original, arrived at wealth and empire. A passion, which no power, no policy, no advantage of climate, no superiority in personal endowments, have ever been able to withstand. Inflamed and purified by this passion alone, the Banditti of Rome came, in time, to give Law to the discipline and science of Greece ; to the policy and commerce of Egypt ; and to the opulence and immense power of Asia.

Whenever this passion hath shone strong amongst us, we have seen England become the Pacificator of the Continent, and rival Monarchs sue for our alliance.—And what is it that is said to have clouded this scene of glory ? What, but the decline, the extinction, of the PATRIOT-PASSION ; under the counterfeit professions of the *Factions* ; the secret discouragements of the  
*Corrupt ;*

*Corrupt*; and the open ridicule of the *Profligate*.

Now, what shall we substitute to supply the loss of this essential virtue, the *Salt* of this animating principle? Something, no doubt, will be attempted, to prevent Government from falling into dishonour and contempt. There is a mimic passion, which will be vainly busied to repair this loss, by the MULTIPLICATION OF OUR LAWS: For the decay of that genuine *salt*, the *love of our Country*, being, amongst its other mischiefs, attended with a constant disposition to brave or to evade the *old established Laws*, there seems to have been as constant a provocation in our Governors to counterwork this evil by the addition of *new ones*. But this will ill support the *Patriot-passion*, or supply the want of it; when men observe, or fancy they observe, that a *multiplicity of Laws*, instead of giving strength to the general, becomes a snare and entanglement to particulars.

If we turn from the Community in its *civil*, to its *religious* capacity, we shall find its *essence* (when purified, as ours, by the

GOSPEL) to consist in the *love of God, and in the practice of piety and virtue*. And this *Salt*, the native temper of Englishmen hath, in all past ages, eminently supplied : so that the *Piety* of BRITAIN was long its characteristic badge. From what fatal concurrence of unlucky accidents we have suffered this celestial flame to go out and die away, even amidst the increase of its fuel (for never was the Christian Faith so well proved to be a *reasonable service* as in these times), it is not my purpose, at present, to enquire. The loss is notorious. It is seen by our actions, it is avowed in our speculations, and boasted of as our glory, that this *Faith* hath now no longer its wonted hold on the lives and consciences of men.

V. And now this brings me still nearer to my Text. For the GOSPEL is that SPECIFIC SALT, which our blessed Master intimates should, in these latter days, *lose its favour* ; and more than intimates, should find no succedaneum to supply its place.

Yet

Yet so insensible are we grown even to the need of any, that we hardly seek or enquire for relief; contrary to the foregoing cases, where we find men busied, however vainly, to supply the depraved state of their condition, by new inventions. And were it not for the humanity of certain well-bred Gentlemen, this *crooked Generation* would be in danger of forgetting that there was any such thing as A RULE OF RIGHT, which these new Instructors offer to us, as an equivalent for THE RULE OF FAITH.

But, not trusting to this, other fancies, it is true, have been raised up to season our *insipidity*.

The MAN OF HONOUR stands forth to assure us, that a *sense of honour* (from which sacred name he takes his title), and not of *Religion*, is the true polisher and refiner of human manners. And yet we see, modern Honour hath no other connexion with virtue than what FASHION hath chanced to make between them; and that *Honour* may thrive and

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do well (as the practice of fashionable men shews) amidst the breach of all God's *Commandments* and the King's.

THE MAN OF SCIENCE, indeed, hath discovered a still more exquisite relief, in our distresses. He bids us procure, for ourselves, a TASTE: which, in the lucky absence of our Religion, will answer every thing. This, says he, is that true *internal feeling*, which Fanatics have so much mistaken; and only wants to be new-touched by this Philosophy, to be indeed THE GOD WITHIN.

Though if we reflect, that TASTE is governed by the *Imagination*, just as HONOUR is regulated on the *Fashion*, we may find reason to complain that our Betters have here (as usual) only provided for themselves; and that TASTE and HONOUR, like the *Quales and Manna* in the wilderness, are too delicate a repast for the gross appetites of the People: and that, however solid a consolation this new *seasoning* of the decayed *salt* of Religion may afford the polite and the well-bred, where *fashion* and  
*fancy*

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*fancy* supply the place of FAITH and HOPE, yet for us *miserable sinners* a more substantial Diet is to be provided.

To sum up all—From what hath been said you may collect, how desperate the condition of things must needs be, whenever the several stations of Society, and much more when Society itself, shall have *lost* their essential qualities, the SALT which constitutes their natures, and makes them to be what they are.

How near we are approaching to this fatal period, or how far removed from it, must be left to every man's serious reflexion.

If we should be found to have fallen from that happy state in which the Creator first placed us, and to which our Redeemer restored us ; the state in which Nature put us, and Grace hath long supported us ; what have we now to do, but, with all humility, to apply to the Author of our Salvation, that he would recall things to that Order, which, on his creation of them, he pronounced GOOD, and which, when run  
into



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into confusion, he restored and harmonized,  
when the whole choir of Heaven sung—  
*Glory to God in the highest, and, on Earth,  
peace, good-will towards man!*

**DIREC-**

DIRECTIONS  
FOR THE  
STUDY OF THEOLOGY,

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PART THE FIRST.

THE Husbandman, before he commits the good seed to the Ground, tills it with repeated labour. The mind, as the soil, over-run with idle trash, where the vilest weeds of literature are mistaken for its flowers and fruit, requires the same kind of culture : it is to be well cleared before you can, with any reasonable hopes, intrust the great and useful Truths of Religion to the rankness of its bosom.

SECT.

## S E C T. I.

TO give it this preparation, therefore, I would first of all recommend to the young student the daily and long continued use of

*Locke on Human Understanding,*  
and

*The Institutions of Quintilian.*

The one will teach him to think justly ; and the other, to express his thoughts with correctness and elegance ; without which qualities, Science is but learned lumber, a burthen to the owner, and a nuisance to every body else. These two writers, possessing in a sovereign degree these excellent talents which they undertake to impart, are, of all others, best able, both by precept and example, to accomplish what they undertake ; which is no other than to make *science* subservient to Truth, in the discovery and communication of it to others ; the peculiar office of a Minister of the Gospel.

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

*NATURAL Law* and *Natural Religion* are the foundation of, and therefore the necessary introduction to, **CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.**

For a general view of *Natural Law*, I should prefer *Grotius's* book, *De jure belli & pacis*, to all the numerous writers on the same subject; though some of them be more scientific and philosophical; for He, perpetually illustrating his precepts by examples, not only teaches, what men should be, but what they are: without which full knowledge, our contemplations on *moral entities* are apt to grow too refined and visionary.

For a general view of *Natural Religion*, as distinguished, though it cannot be separated, from *Natural Law*, the most useful, I think, is *Wollaston's* Treatise of *The Religion of Nature delineated*; for although he has placed moral obligation on very fanciful grounds, yet the solidity of those duties, which he hath shewn, in so just and elegant

elegant a manner, to arise out of *natural Religion*, is not at all diminished by that airy speculation.

But as the great Pillar of *Natural Law* is *Moral obligation*; and of *Natural Religion*, the *Being and Attributes of God*, there are two capital Books I would here recommend to our Student, to compleat his ideas of this Law and Religion; which are, *Cumberland on the Law of Nature*, and *Cudworth's Intellectual System*. These, on some other accounts, might be commodiously placed elsewhere; yet on the whole they may, perhaps, be read with most profit, after the two books of *Grotius* and *Wollaston*.

Those incomparable works of *Cumberland* and *Cudworth* were, it is true, written in confutation of *Hobbes's* Philosophy; which then threatened, like a later and ruder attempt, to overthrow all the received *Morality* and *Metaphysics* of the ancient and modern world. But their method of *polemic writing* (for such, indeed, it was) deserves commendation, as best answering their general end; while they overlooked the personal singularities of their adversary,  
and

and turned themselves to the abstract questions.—In *Cumberland*, Hobbes met with a very superior Reasoner; and in *Cudworth*, a far more accomplished Scholar. Both of them, indeed, inferior to that *Pest* of Science, sacred and prophane, in elegance of composition and in purity and splendour of language. On which account, I should advise, that *Cumberland* be read, not in his own ungracious Latin, but in Barbeyrac's excellent translation into French.—For the same, and for a further reason, I should prefer Mosheim's Latin translation of the *Intellectual System*, to the English original; that is to say, not only for its purity and elegance, but for its great abundance and excellence of learned notes. †

*Cumberland* excels all men in fixing the true grounds of *moral obligation*; out of which, *Natural Law* and *Natural Religion* both arise.

*Cudworth* takes a larger and sublimer range: he begins with *Metaphysics*, which employs what we now have of the famous work of the *Intellectual System*.

In

In exhausting the Metaphysic questions concerning the *Being and Nature of the Deity*, he hath occasionally given us a compleat History of Ancient Learning as far as relates to those Inquiries : which, besides the particular use in the order of the *course*, will be of this further advantage to our student, the throwing great lights on what he finds delivered concerning *one God and one Lord* in the Old and New Testament, when he now comes, after these preparations, to the direct study of the *Sacred Writings* ; the proper end of his labours, the gaining a *true Knowledge of Revealed Religion*.

### S E C T. III.

NOW, though the *Mosaic Religion*, to which we come, be no where to be learnt, but in the *Old Testament* ; nor the *Christian*, but in the *New* ; yet it may be convenient for us to know, what ideas those learned men, who are believed to have most successfully studied the *Sacred Books*, have entertained of both : not with a purpose to acquiesce

acquiesce in their labours, but to facilitate our own; not for our guides, whom we are implicitly to follow in a road as yet to ourselves unknown; but for our *Counsellors* or *Affistants*, who are ready to lay before us what they conceive of the *Carte du pays* in general; which our student may use or correct for his own advantage, as he goes along.

There are not many who have applied themselves, in good earnest, to assist us in our knowledge of the *Mosaic Law*; and most of these very unsuccessfully. From the Jewish Doctors we derive much less instruction than might have been expected. Yet, to one of these, it must be confessed, we owe what we have of what is most considerable on this subject; I mean a *Rationale* of the Jewish *Ritual*; which essential part of the Mosaic Law had been long the stumbling-block of Infidelity; and was likely to continue so; when, in the first flourishing times of the *Saracene* Empire, a great number of Jews (as we learn from *William of Paris*, in his book *de Legibus*) devoting themselves to the study of the Aristotelian



Philosophy (then cultivated by these followers of Mahomet with a kind of Scientific rage), and thereby contracting an inquisitive and disputatious habit, set themselves on examining into *the Reasons of the Jewish Laws*; which being unable to discover, they, with their usual levity, concluded, that they were futile, absurd, and of human original; and so apostatised, in great numbers, from the religion of their Fathers, to Mahometanism.

To put a stop to this evil, the famous *Maimonides* wrote, with much success, the book called *Ductor Dubitantium*; the chief purpose of which is to explain *the causes of the Jewish Ritual*.

On this ground, our excellent Countryman, *Spencer*, long afterwards, when the Rabbi's book had been almost forgotten, erected his admirable book intituled, *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus*. This, tho' confined to an illustration of the *Ritual Law*, is, by far, the most considerable attempt yet made to explain the nature and genius of the *Mosaic Religion*: while the other capital parts of this Dispensation,

such as the nature of its civil Government, a *Theocracy*;—the rewards and punishments, peculiar to it;—its extraordinary administration by appointed Agents, endowed with supernatural powers, and with the gifts of *Miracles* and *Prophecy*;—the *double sense* in which the latter was necessarily involved; and the language consequent to its nature and use: these things, I say, of such importance to the successful study of the Old Testament, have been hitherto treated, not only superficially, but absurdly. Yet notwithstanding, as the *Ritual Law* constitutes so considerable a part of the *Mosaic Dispensation*, Spencer's book is of infinite use, not only for its own appropriated excellence, but for the subject's necessarily leading him to a very detailed account of the religious state of the ancient Pagan world, without which knowledge we can have but a very imperfect idea of the *Jewish Law and History*. The scarcity of good Writers on the Old Testament shews how necessary it is to make the best of the incomparable Author of the book *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus*. After

this, the Student having furnished himself with *Walton's Polyglott Bible*, and the large Collection called *Critici Sacri*, may proceed directly to his great Work, the Study of the Bible.

#### S E C T. IV.

IF it be hard to *find* good Writers on the *Old Law*, it is as hard to *chuse* out of the great Number on the *New*.

In our Study of the Gospel, our wants are not so great, and our assistances much greater. Though it be the purpose of these slight hints to recommend the BIBLE as the genuine *mine*, inexhausted and inexhaustible, from whence all our Treasures of Theology are to be fetched, and which consequently is to be principally explored, while we turn our backs on all the *Sums* and *Systems* of Artificial Divines: yet a general acquaintance with the two Dispensations, procured as we can, may, in the entrance on our Work, somewhat ease our Labour.

After

After what has been said of a manuduction to the Study of the *Old Testament*, I would only recommend, from amongst the crude abundance on the *New*, two short tracts, *Locke's Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures*; and Dr. Burnet of the Charter-house, his *De Fide et Officiis Christianorum*; the first of these tracts being a kind of prelude or introduction to the other. They are both of them excellent in their different kinds. So that when our Student has done this, nothing remains but that he may enter directly on the study of the *New Testament*, which he will now find prepared to receive him as a well-qualified Guest. And *Grotius's* Critical Comment on the *Gospels*, and *Locke* on the *Epistles*, accompanying this Study, will open all the treasures of our Faith to one so happily employed. What, after the use of these two Commentators, will be wanting for future illustration, must be sought for in the Collection called the *Sacred Critics*, before recommended, amongst the Critics on the *New Testament*.

Only, in the study of *The Revelation of St. John*, from whence may be deduced the most illustrious and irrefragable Evidence of the Divinity of our holy Religion, the works of Mr. Joseph Mede, whose *Comments on the Apocalypse* is, indeed, in Theology, what *Harvey's* discovery of the circulation of the blood was thought to be in Physics, should be carefully digested.

This labour, on the New Testament, well over, our Student may then, but not before, read with advantage some of the many Bodies, or *Institutes*, as they are called, of Christian Theology. The best I know of is, for its elegance, clearness, and freedom from partial affections of all sorts, that of the great *Episcopus*, though unfinished; the parts wanting may be well supplied from *Limborch's Theologia Christiana*; a master-piece, which, in its kind, may be well compared to a work of Raphael's finished by Julio Romano.

S E C T. V.

HAVING proceeded thus far in our *Course*, and gone through that part of *Theology* called the *positive* or *dogmatic*, our Student's next step will be to provide a guard or defence for the security of his acquirements; which is to be done by the assistance of the other part, called the *Polemic*; which of late indeed ignorance has brought into discredit, from the general decay of critical and dialectic Learning.

1. He will begin with a defence of *Revelation in general*, as it lies in *Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, enlarged by *Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ*; which may be considered as a kind of Commentary on the other's text: the just encomiums of which have so long satiated the public ear, that we now hear of that with indifference in which our Fathers so much triumphed. But the book I mean is that written by Mr. Stillingfleet; not that unfinished work which bears the same title, written when he became Bishop of Worcester.

2. From thence, he will go on to a defence of the *Christian Religion* against *Judaism*. For which he will need no other instruction than what he may find in *Limborch's* work, intituled, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ Amica Collatio cum Erudito Judæo*. This was Isaac Orobio, a Spanish Jew, who, escaping from the prisons of the Inquisition, now practised Physic in Holland. In this Disputation will be found all that the stretch of human parts on the one hand, or science on the other, can produce, to varnish error, or to unravel sophistry. All the Papers of Orobio in defence of Judaism, as opposed to Christianity, are here given at large, with Limborch's answers, section by section: where the subtlest sophisms of a very superior genius will be found ably and satisfactorily detected and exposed by the strong, profound, and clear reasoning of this celebrated Remonstrant.

3. The defence of the *Reformed Churches* against *Popery* is next in order; and our Student will find it compleatly performed in that master-piece of human reasoning, Chillingworth's book against Knott, intituled,

intituled, *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to salvation*; in which he will see all the school jargon of that subtile Jesuit incomparably exposed; and the long dispute between the two churches, for the first time, placed upon its proper immoveable ground, the BIBLE alone, after the extravagant Authority of the *Fathers*, perpetually appealed to by both Churches, had long usurped the prerogatives of Scripture, and, by breaking down the boundaries betwixt right and wrong, had made the Controversy endless.

And having here recommended to our Student's most careful attention these two capital works of *Limborch* against the *Jew*, and *Cbillingworth* against the *Jesuit*, it presents a fit occasion to take notice of that ignorant censure of *Polemic Divinity*, now so fashionable even amongst those whose Profession might have enabled them to know better, as if it were the offspring of the Philosophy and Divinity of the SCHOOLS; when they might see that the futility of Scholastic Learning was never more effectually held up to derision, in the persons  
of



of those two subtle Disputants (who were overrun with it) than by these incomparable Defenders of Christianity and Protestantism.

4. From the Defense of *Protestantism* in general, we come next to that of the *Church of England*, against the *Seſtaries*. And here it will ſuffice, *inſtar omnium*, to ſtudy *Hooker's four firſt Books of Eccleſiaſtical Policy*; in which, an *eſtabliſhed Church* is immovably fixed on this great *Principle*, That the *outward Policy of a Church*, though divinely inſtituted, is in the claſs, and of the ſpecies of thoſe *Laws*, which even the ſacred Authority, that enjoins them, does not render immutable. A work bearing all the marks of immortality, as deſtined to excite the admiration of men while good letters remain amongſt them.

## S E C T. VI.

BUT Polemic Divinity, though of the best sort, being apt to give a rigid turn to the sentiments of those long engaged in it, we may, by this time, find it necessary to remind our Student, that though the *means* be Learning, yet the *end of the commandment is Charity*, and that the truest badge of our being the Servants of one Common Master is our mutual forbearance of one another. Now this Charity is violated by *restraint and intolerance* : whether exercised by a Church to its own Members ; or towards those who have renounced its jurisdiction.

1. The injustice of the first kind, is combated and exposed in a very masterly manner by Bishop Taylor in his *Liberty of Prophecyng*, and by Bishop Stillingfleet in his *Irenicum*. *Taylor* wrote when the Church of England was groaning under the tyranny of the Puritans or Presbyterians ; and, therefore, to remind them of their own claims,

claims, under the like oppressive Circumstances, he intitles his Apology the *Liberty of Prophefying*, under which name they chose to ennoble their *Lectures*. *Stillingfleet* wrote when the Established Church was on the recovery of its legal rights; and, finding it sharpened by long injuries and indignities, he endeavourd to allay the heats of his Brethren, by his *Irenicum*; both these writers pleading for religious Liberty; the one when it was violated by oppression; the other when it was in danger from fresh resentments. Yet it is not to be denied or disguised that these celebrated Writers, either not yet comprehending the doctrine of *Toleration in its full extent*, or perhaps not finding the minds of men sufficiently enlarged to receive it (which, though a truth, from its coincidence with the genius of Christianity, one would have expected to find amongst the first received in an Established Church, was unhappily amongst the last); they cramped the doctrine within too narrow bounds, while, to avoid scandal, they thought it of use to distinguish

tinguish in laboured discourses between points fundamental and not fundamental ; which, though impertinent to the true decision of the question of Toleration, yet accidentally let in much light into the true nature of Christianity.

2. The injustice of the second kind, the oppressive treatment of Dissenters or Sectaries, gave occasion for the question of *Toleration* to be more fully and compleatly handled by Mr. Locke in his celebrated *Letters* on that subject ; and by Mr. Bayle in his no less celebrated *Comment*, on the words, *compel them to enter in*. These four Works should be very carefully studied. They give a compleat view of the Subject. Such, who have wrote since in support of the Divine Principle of *Toleration*, may be said, only, *actum agere*.

The enemies of pure Religion have *defiled* Revelation, each on his own peculiar principles : but friends and enemies have concurred in *dishonouring* it, by one common principle, held occasionally by all in their turns—the *Antichristian Doctrine of Persecution*

*Persecution and intolerance.* Now, the Books here recommended expose it in all its iniquity and folly.

## S E C T. VII.

FROM the *interior Spirit* of our holy Religion, which is constant and unchangeable, we come to the *outward face* of it, whose features have, both by time and climate, been ever on the change; nor has time, from the infancy to the old age of the Church, brought on greater disparities in its looks than the intemperature of Climates, which have been the scenes of Ecclesiastical occurrences. The ill-sorted Pictures with which Church-history is adorned, serve at once for the opprobrium and the glory of Religion.

*Order* requires that the Student should first take a view of the *general History of the Church*; and *convenience* points to us, that he should begin with some well-chosen abridgment. There is only one that deserves

deserves our commendation ; but that one is indeed incomparable : It is written by the very learned Mosheim, in elegant Latin. Amongst the various excellencies of his method, I shall only mention this, his referring, on every subject, to the best writers who have treated it at large : so that whenever information excites the Student to look into the Authors referred to by Mosheim, he is sure to find the solution of his doubts, or satisfaction to his curiosity.

From the *History of the Church in general*, the nature of the course directs our Student to the *general History of the Church of England*.

But our repeated complaints of the defective state of this part of Literature amongst us, extends to the *ecclesiastical* as well as to the *civil* History of Great Britain. There are only two writers of the general History of our Church who deserve the name of Historians, Collier the Nonjuror, and Fuller the Jester.

The first hath written with sufficient dignity, elegance, and spirit ; but hath dishonoured and debased his whole work  
with

with the absurd and slavish Tenets of the High Churchmen.

The other is composed with better temper, and on better principles; and with sufficient care and attention; but worked on a slight fantastic ground, and in a style of buffoon pleasantry altogether unsuitable to so grave and important a subject. Yet much may be learnt from both; much, indeed, to avoid, as well as to approve.

After this general view of Church History, the *Reformation* of Religion from the corruptions of Popery, the most important period of Church History, will deserve our particular attention.

The rise and progress of it may be best learnt from *Sleidan*, in his *De Statu Religionis & Reipublicæ Carolo V. Cæsare Commentarii*; more valuable for its veracity than for the charms of its composition.

To have a proper knowledge of that of our own Church, Burnet's much-applauded History of the Reformation of the Church of England, with his third volume of Explanations and Corrections, must be carefully read. Were we to estimate its

value by the reception it met with from the two Houses of Parliament, when a whole People were frightened out of their wits by the imminent danger of Popery, we should rate it much too high. It is a sensible well-attested narrative of Facts, collected with Care, and digested with Candour.

## S E C T. VIII.

AND now we are arrived at the concluding labours of our young Divine, the imparting of that knowledge to others which with so much care and study he hath procured for himself. Amongst the many marks which distinguish the *Christian Philosopher* from the *Pagan*, this is one of the most striking—the *Pagan* sought knowledge in a selfish way, to secrete it for his own use: the *Christian* seeks it with the generous purpose (first in view, though last in execution) to impart it to others. The *Pagan Philosopher*, therefore, having cultivated the *art of thinking*, proceeds to that



of *speaking*, in order to display his vanity in the dexterous use of deceit. On the other hand, the *Christian Philosopher* cultivates the *art of speaking*, for the sole purpose of disseminating the Truth, in his office of Preacher of the Gospel. That *species of eloquence*, therefore, which is only fitted for his use, is best described by an eminent Writer, who indeed makes it the *genus of the Art*: “ True Eloquence,” says he, “ I find to be none but the serious and  
 “ hearty LOVE OF TRUTH : and that  
 “ whose mind soever is fully possessed with  
 “ a fervent desire to know good things,  
 “ and with the DEAREST CHARITY to in-  
 “ fuse the knowledge of them to others,  
 “ when such a man would speak, his  
 “ words, like so many nimble and airy fer-  
 “ vitors, trip about him at command, and  
 “ in well-ordered files, as he could wish,  
 “ fall aptly into their own places \*.”

This is the true *Christian Eloquence* ; to which I would have our Student eagerly aspire ; whatever route his talents lead him

\* Milton.

to take, in discharge of this part of his Ministry: whether his Discourse be employed in illustrating the sacred text—or in explaining and enforcing the capital duties of Morality—or lastly, in pressing, upon the conscience, the practical obligations both of natural and revealed Religion, by a pathetic address to the Passions and Affections of his hearers: For under one or other of these three heads, I suppose, may be comprised all the rational service of the Pulpit.

1. If his disposition incline him to the illustration of the sacred Text, which, in strict truth, is performing what by his office he has engaged himself to undertake, that is to say, *to preach the word of God*, the best model I can think of are the Sermons of Dr. Samuel Clarke, of St. James's, who is always plain, clear, accurate, and full.

2. If he rather chuses to expatiate on the great Duties of Morality, Dr. Barrow should be his principal Guide: whose comprehensive mind penetrates into the very darkest recesses of our nature, at the same

time that the radiations of his genius gild the most solemn and gloomy prospects. In a word, his is that *true Eloquence* which Milton so happily describes, and which this Preacher so eminently possesses.

But yet we should not suspect, that Clarke is defective in what Barrow so eminently abounds; or that Barrow, on fit occasions, neglects to cultivate that sacred soil from which Clarke reaped such abundant harvests.

3. A pathetic address to the passions and affections of penitent hearers, perhaps the most operative of all these various species of instruction, is that in which the English Pulpit, notwithstanding all its other superior advantages, is most defective. Here, the *persuasive* is apt to be barren of reasoning; and the *pathetic* to degenerate into *cant*. A perfect model of this kind we must seek for abroad. Nor need we be long to seek, though we be forced to take up with a Papist, and, what is worse, a Jesuit—the celebrated Bourdaloue, who, to the most perfect sublime and pathetic, has occasionally added all the force of reason in  
the

the simplest and most beautiful method, in which will be found many excellent strokes of *scriptural criticism* and *moral divinity*, which so much ennoble the works of the two English Preachers above recommended for the execution of their several methods. Nor will there be any danger that our Student, now so well armed at all points, by the truths collected in his Course, should be betrayed or entangled in the errors and corruptions, which have so miserably deformed the mother-church of this famous Preacher.

In conclusion, I confide in the young Divine, who resolves in good earnest to go through the course here recommended, that he will consider it as only the foundation of the learning of his profession ; as only the out-lines on which he is to work through life, in order to deserve the Character (at which we will suppose he aims) of an *accomplished Divine*.

On this account, I have been exceeding sparing, in this *first part*, to recommend such Writers as are to aid him in his *Course* ; omitting all but those of capital note, who,

as he goes along, are of necessity to be well digested.

The **SECOND PART** \* therefore will be employed in an account, under each head, of those additional Writers, that may enable the Student to make himself a perfect Master of the several Subjects marked out in this ; which though it may give him a just, yet, without further assistance, may remain a too general idea of his Business.

\* The *second part* has not been found among the Bishop's papers, and probably was never written. R. W.

Extract from a Letter of the Bishop of Gloucester [Dr. Warburton] to me, Feb. 26, 1765. R. W.

“ —*Neal's History of the Puritans in Three Volumes, now in the Library at Durham, which in one of my Residences I took home to my House, and, at Breakfast time, filled the Margins quite through; which I think to be a full Confutation of all his false Facts and partial Representations.*”

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REMARKS ON NEAL'S HISTORY,  
BY  
BISHOP WARBURTON,

Entered in an Edition of that Work in the Library at Durham.

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NEAL'S HISTORY—OCTAVO—VOL. I.

Chap. iii. *YOU have the word, &c.* p. 89.  
V. I.

This is to lye, under the cover of truth.  
Can any body in his senses believe that  
when the only contention between the two

parties was, Who had the *word*; that the more powerful would yield it up to their adversaries? Without all doubt, some Protestant member, in the heat of dispute, said, *We have the word*; upon which the Prolocutor insultingly answers—But *we have the sword*—without thinking any one would be so foolish as to join the two propositions into one, and then give it to the Prolocutor.

Ch. iv. p. 178. *Yet Fuller, &c. who had the liberty of perusing.*

But did he peruse them?

P. 186. *(Fox) had no preferment, &c.*

This is a mistake; for he was installed in the third prebend of Durham, Oct. 14, 1572, *Pilkington* being then Bishop, who had much the same sentiments with Fox, but held it not long, Bellamy succeeding to the same stall, Oct. 31, 1573.

P. 191, *Because his [Bucer's] head was not square.*

I think his head was out of square.

P. 192. *The grand question, "Whether they should desert their ministry, or comply."*

What then? must they needs be more in the right in this trifling question, than they were in that important one of religious liberty, in which the Author thinks, and truly, that they were all wrong?

Dr. Horn, &c.

and this was very consistent.

P. 194. *Till [the habits] are sent to Hell, &c.*

If they came from Hell, they certainly were not indifferent: But the Devil has better merchandize for souls, than this gear, pharisaical purity and spiritual pride.

*Our first Reformers ascribed no holiness, &c.*

Who ascribes any holiness or virtue to them now, I pray? *Decency*, indeed, they do, and that is enough to justify their use.

P. 231. *"Each party blamed the other."*

The Church of England doubtless was right in exacting Conformity to their terms of Communion. Then it was, they became offenders, when they denied a toleration



tion to those who would not accept their terms of Communion: for their refusal proceeding from an opinion (however weak and foolish) that the terms were sinful, they had a right to worship God in their own way; and the crime of Schism, if they were guilty of it, they were to answer for to God only, who was the only judge how far the sincerity of their erroneous conscience rendered them excusable.

P. 240. *Natural right, &c.*

With what face could the author speak of the *natural right* every man has to judge for himself, as one of the heads of controversy between the Puritans and Conformists, when his whole History shews that this was a *truth* unknown to either party; and that as the Conformists persecuted because they thought themselves in the right, so the Puritans insisted on their Christian liberty, because they were in the right, not because all sects (whether in the right or wrong) have a title to it; in which foundation only true Christian liberty rises?

Ch. v. p. 243. "*Prove that.*"

They might easily have proved that every particular Church has this authority, be-

cause it is of the essence of a religious society as such ; and when the State unites with, and establishes any particular Church, *then* the civil Magistrate, as head of the Church, has this power.

P. 294. “ *And it may have settled them.*”

Can there be a stronger proof than this, of Christ's not instituting a discipline for the Church, as Moses did for the Synagogue, That he left the matter to particular Churches to institute, such as each thought most convenient ?

Ch. vi. p. 365. *The Bishop of London, &c.*

This is an unfair charge, which runs through the History. The exacting conformity of the ministry of any Church by the Governors of that Church is no persecution : Indeed, the doing more than simply expelling them from the Communion is so ; much more the not permitting them to worship God in their own way, as a separate sect.— Whether the terms of Communion or Conformity were not too narrow, is another question.

P. 369.

P. 369. *Mr. Stubbs' right hand, &c.*

This was infinitely more cruel than all the ears under Charles the First ; whether we consider the punishment, the crime, or the man.

P. 369. *Jan. 10. The Commons voted, &c.*

If this was only a fast for themselves, there was nothing in it contrary to Law and Equity ; but, if they enjoined it to be observed without doors, it was a violation of all order and good government, as well as law.

Ch. vi. p. 372. *Satirical Pamphlets, &c.*

Without doubt, the punishment was much too severe for the offence : but a fair and impartial historian would have spoken in much severer terms of such satirical pamphlets as Martin Mar-Prelate, &c. &c. for these are the pamphlets he alludes to.

P. 374. *Men that act on principles, &c.*

It is just the same with men who act upon *passion and prejudice*, for the poet says truly,

“ Obstinacy's ne'er so stiff

“ As when 'tis in a wrong belief.”

P. 380.

P. 380. *Influence on the next generation, &c.*

It had, as is seen from the overthrow of the Constitution both in Church and State by the *generation so influenced*.

P. 381. *In defiance of the Laws, &c.*

Were the Jesuits more faulty in acting in *defiance* of the Laws, than the Puritans? I think not—They had both the same plea, Conscience; and both the same provocation, Persecution.

P. 386. *The Bishops will be a distinct, &c.*

The Puritans were even with them, and to the *Jus divinum* of *Episcopacy*, opposed the *Jus divinum* of *Presbytery*, which was the making each other Anti-Christian.

P. 389. *It seems a little hard, &c.*

That is, it is hard that the dispensers of poison should be hanged for going on obstinately in mischief, because He who compounded the poison was on his repentance pardoned. But thus does Party and Prejudice speak on all occasions.

Ch. vii. p. 405. “ *Professed reverence for the established Church.*”

When the Puritans write against the Bishops, p. 403, they call the *established Church* an hierarchy, that never obtained till the approach of *Antichrist*. Yet *here* the council profess to reverence *it*, and see no necessity of separating from the unity of it.

P. 459. “ *But now if the whole,*” &c.

The very nature of the supremacy (placed in the sovereign in a state where the legislative power is shared between the sovereign and the states) hath in time brought the supremacy to that *equitable* condition the author speaks of.

P. 464. “ *He erected a kind of Judicatory.*”

P. 396. The Archbishop publishes articles, which because they were not under the Great Seal, though by the Queen's direction, the author pronounces against law—because *against* the Puritans. Here the Bishop of Lichfield, without the Queen's direction, *erects a kind of Judicatory*, which  
he

he reckons to be agreeable to Law—because in *favour* of the Puritans.

P. 466. “*The writer of Hooker's Life,*” &c.

It was disingenuous to quote the quaint trash of a fantastical life-writer, as *He* knew the words, thus separate, would be understood in a sense the life-writer never meant, namely, that Mr. Hooker was only a tool or creature of the Archbishop: whereas that immortal man spoke no language but that of truth, and dictated by conscience.

P. 470. “*Mr. Hooker concludes,*” &c.

This answer of his is one of the greatest master-pieces for purity and elegance of language, eloquence, and dignity of discourse, clearness and strength of reasoning, that ever was written.

P. 481. This bill offered to the House was such an insolent mutinous action in the Puritan ministers, that one would wonder a writer of this author's good sense could mention them without censure, much more that he should do it with commendation.

It

It was no wonder the Queen should except from a general pardon men so ready to oppose authority. A bill for toleration for themselves had been just and reasonable, and perhaps, in the temper of the House of Commons in their favour, they had succeeded—but a bill to establish themselves, and impose their discipline upon others, was an insufferable insolence. But it proceeded from that wretched principle, which the author would conceal in his friends, but is always ready, on every occasion, to exclaim against in his adversaries; namely, “that error is not to be tolerated, “without the guilt of partaking in other “mens sins.”

P. 482. “*To prove his doctrine of Popery,*” &c.

This is the general fault of controversial Divines, and has been so in every age since the apostolic times. In combating one extreme, they run into another; and, while they are opposing their enemies on the right hand, give advantages to those on their left. This is often the mishap even  
of

of the more cautious, who are combating honestly for what they think the truth. Others, who are fighting only for their party, their reputation, and advancement, act like mere engineers, who never inquire whose ground it is they stand upon, while they are erecting a battery against their enemies.

P. 483. "*For relief.*"

What relief? Toleration? No: An Establishment. To this the Author would say, all they first wanted, was to be let alone and not persecuted. Yes, but it was to bring in their discipline by degrees; first, to quarrel with surplices and square caps, then to cavil at the Common Prayer, and lastly to condemn Episcopacy. All this time, indeed, they were for continuing in the Church. But what was this, but aiming to establish their discipline, on the ruins of the Episcopal Church? Had they, on their first persecution, left the Church, we had seen all they desired was toleration: but persevering

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to



to continue in it to reform it, it is plain they wanted an Establishment.

Ch. vii. p. 488. "*It has been easy at this time,*" &c.

Was it not distressing the Government and the Hierarchy to revile them in the bitterest language, on the eve of an invasion from Spain, when the only security that Government had was the people's love, and consequently attachment to Church and State? Did not these pamphlets abate the people's love and reverence for both, in which they were told that the Government was unjust and tyrannical; and the Hierarchy, Antichristian?

P. 491. "*They assumed no authority,*" &c.

What is meant by this? They assumed no authority. Did not they expell from their society all who would not observe their decrees? Yes. But they exercised no coercive power. How could they? This belongs only to the civil state, and is derived from thence to the Established Church only. Why, this is not what they would  
be

be at. They were for being the Established Church. This is the reason why they were for *wiping off* the calumny of schism, by communicating, as they pretended, with the Church, which this author makes a matter of great merit in them.

P. 495. "*It will then follow.*"

This is a very pitiful sophism, as may be seen by only changing names. If *Priests* by God's ordinance are *superior* Governors over the *Deacons*, it will follow that her Majesty is not *supreme* Governor over the *Deacons*.

P. 496. "*But this is quite a different thing to say,*" &c.

It is not a different thing, as Hooker has shewn, who has proved that a difference in the legislature makes no difference in the essence of things.

P. 498. "*Most of the Clergy,*" &c.

This is most true. The great Hooker was not only against, but laid down principles that have entirely subverted it, and all pretences to a divine unalterable right in

any form of Church Government whatsoever. Yet, strange to say, his book was so unavoidable a Confutation of Puritanical principles, which by the way claimed their Presbytery as of divine right, that the Churchmen took the advantage of the successes of their Champion, and now began to claim a divine right for Episcopacy on the strength of that very book, that subverted all pretences to every species of divine right whatsoever.

Ch. viii. p. 508. "*Mr. Udall*," &c.

This is unworthy a candid historian, or an honest man. Udall, we see, p. 519, did not *suffer death* (which in common English signifies dying by the hand of the executioner), but died in prison; he says, indeed, heart-broken: but there is as much difference between an historian's pronouncing a man heart-broken, and actual breaking on a wheel, as between a priest's pronouncing an excommunicate damned, and actual damnation.

**P. 574. *Remarks.***

In one part of these Remarks he appears not to have understood Hooker ; in another, he draws consequences which do not follow from Hooker's principles ; and in the third he argues against Church power from the abuse of it.

**P. 575. “ *Must I then,*” &c.**

He either mistakes or misrepresents Hooker. What that great author affirms is this, that whoever is born in a Church where the true doctrine of Christ is taught and professed, is obliged to submit to those laws of the society, without which no society can subsist. Just as he who is born in a civil society, founded on the principles of natural liberty, is bound to submit to those laws of the society, without which civil society cannot subsist.

**P. 575. “ *But all those of Rome.*”**

How so ? Does it follow, that, because I have a right to the *use* of a power, I have a right to the *abuse* of it ? The Church of Rome, that of England, and every other

Christian Church of one denomination, may as a society make laws of order and discipline. The Church of Rome abuses this right—therefore the Church of England shall not use it.

P. 579. “*Blew up their liberties.*”

Blow up a fool's head. This proceeded from the natural perversity of the populace, which will always oppose authority, when they can with safety, even though they deprive themselves of all their other satisfactions.

P. 581. “*Articles.*”

I would fain know how these men could speak worse of the evil being himself. How deplorable are the infirmities of human nature! See here the feverish state of a Puritanical conscience. These men could set Church and State in a flame for square caps, surplices, and the cross in baptism; while they swallowed, and even contended for, these horrible decrees; the frightful and disordered dreams of a crude, sour-tempered, persecuting, Bigot, who counter-works his Creator, and makes God after man's image,  
and

and chooses the worst model he can find, *himself*.

Ibid. The Puritans by Dr. Reynolds, in the name of the Brethren at the Hampton Court conference, desired that these godly articles might be inserted among the Thirty-nine. See p. 15, 2d vol.

P. 583. This went upon the true Puritan principle, that whatever was Popish was false.

P. 584. Their case was indeed more sad than their historian intended to suggest. It was the common infirmity of Churchmen to persecute, when in *power*; but to persecute, as the Puritans here did, while under oppression, shews the extreme depravity of the heart.

P. 584. “*Lambeth Articles.*”

There is something very spiteful in this, not to be content to abuse Lambeth for passing doctrines contrary to theirs, but to abuse them for espousing their favourite Decrees. But Lambeth, like Rome, can do nothing right.

P. 587. "*With Hypocrites.*"

Notwithstanding this protestation, it appears as clear as the day from Harfnet's detection, that this affair was a vile imposture, and as fairly charged on the Puritan Divines, as a like imposture, carrying on at the same time, and detected by the same able writer, in the Popish quarter, was fairly chargeable on the mals-priests.

P. 589. "*Of those that have.*"

This weak speech an able historian should not have quoted, for the sake of his party. They were indicted as acting against Law, not against the Gospel; and the judge, if a good lawyer, was qualified to try them, let his knowledge in divinity be what it would—the rest the legislature was to answer.

*Ibid.* "*The foundations of discipline.*"

i. e. Were not disposed to overturn the Constitution of the Church, We see by this what was aimed at, an Establishment, not a Toleration. There was too much pretence therefore to treat them as seditious subjects,

P. 594.

P. 594. “*Eraſtian Principles.*”

It is true that Eraſtus’s famous book *De Excommunicatione* was purchased by Whitgift of Eraſtus’s widow in Germany, and put by him to the preſs in London, under fictitious names of the place and printer. This Selden diſcovered, and has publiſhed the diſcovery in his book *De Synedriis*. Had the author known this, it had been a fine ornament to Hiſtory.

End of the Firſt Volume, 8vo ed. 1732. Lond.

PREFACE TO NEAL’S HISTORY OF THE  
PURITANS.

VOL. II. 8vo. LONDON, 1733.

P. x. “*To which it is expoſed.*”

The Author has here, and in his Preface to the former Volume, confounded together two things very diſtinct and different, a *Teſt* for the ſecurity of the Eſtabliſhment, and the *Sacramental Teſt*, enjoined for that purpoſe. I think a *Teſt* abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of the Eſtabliſhed Religion, where there are diverſities



verfities of fefts in the State; and I think the Sacramental Test the very worft that could have been chosen for that purpofe, becaufe it is both evaded and prophaned.

P. xi. “ *And penalties for not doing it.*”  
 Moft certainly.

## VOL. II. HISTORY.

Ch. i. p. 3. “ *In the years 1581 and 1590.*”

A fair hiftorian would here have acquainted us with the villainous and tyrannical ufage of the Kirk of Scotland to their King, of which the Scotch hiftorians of that time are full; and by which we fhould have feen the high provocation they had given him, and how natural it was for him to return their ufage, when he had once emancipated himfelf from them: The King himfelf hints at this, p. 19.

P. 19. “ *Pray let that alone.*”

Sancho Pancha never made a better fpeech, nor more to the purpofe, during his Government.

P. 78. "*Which he prophesied.*"

How would the Historian have us understand this? As a true prophecy to be fulfilled, or a false prophet confuted?

Ch. ii. p. 101. "*No certain proof of it.*"

This is abominable. There was no proof at all. He was suspected indeed to have been poisoned, nobody knows by whom, because no Prince dies untimely without that suspicion.

P. 107. "*Received in their room.*"

It could never be a bad exchange which set aside the nine horrid Articles of Lambeth.

Ibid. "*A national Reformation.*"

In other words, when the Puritans had long laboured in vain for an Establishment, they would now be thankful for a Toleration. They had no just pretence to the first, and it was unjust to deny them the latter: But he who asks too much is often in danger of losing his *due*.

P. 115. "*Unexceptionable manner.*"

But our Historian forgets to tell us what Mr. Hales said upon the sum of things ; i. e. when he had heard the great Episcopus make his celebrated defence, He, from that moment, bade John Calvin good-night.

P. 118. "*Nothing here than Scripture, Reason, and Fathers.*"

This was said ironically.

P. 120. "*Turned their task-masters out of the kingdom.*"

Soon after they used their interest to this purpose, and I believe they began to use it as soon as ever they got it.

P. 121. "*Raised up by this treatise.*"

Where was the storm, except in this fanciful author's standish, when Selden taught the clergy to raise their parsonage-barns on the sure foundation of Law ; which before they had foolishly placed upon crutches, the feeble prop of an imaginary divine right?

P. 125.

P. 125. "*Two Religions established by Law.*"

This is a mistake, and the fancy of two established Religions in one state, an *absurdity*. The case was this: part of the Bohemians before the Reformation held the necessity of communicating under both kinds; these were the Hussites. This privilege was granted them; and these were called the *sub utraque*, and the rest *sub una*. But these were not two Religions, but one *only*—administering a single rite differently. After the Reformation the Hussites became Protestants, i. e. of a different Religion from the *sub una* part: but then they were no longer an established Church, but a tolerated one only.

P. 126. "*Rejoiced at this Providence.*"

Just such a *providence* as the Long Parliament depriving Charles the First of his Crown, and setting up a Republick.

P. 144. "*Lost both his crown and life.*"

This is an utter calumny; a coalition of the two Churches was never in the King's thoughts; happy for him, if he never had worse;

worfe; what he aimed at, was arbitrary power. Had he given his Parliaments fatisfaction in that point, he might have reduced the Puritans to a lower condition than ever they were in, in the time of Elizabeth. The cry of *Popery* was the address of those who were only struggling for *civil Liberty*, as believing (in which they were mistaken) that the real danger of civil liberty was not of force enough to draw in the people to their side, without possessing them with fears from the imaginary danger of Popery.

P. 147. "*Harsnet.*"

Was a man of the greatest learning and parts of his time.

P. 148. "*To the mother \* than to the son † of God.*"

† *Of God*, should be erased. The mother meant, was Buckingham's, who, being a violent Papist, and yet having the disposal of preferments, gave Gondamer hopes of the re-establishment of Popery by advancing its friends.

\* This is a vile perversion of facts. Gondamer's words were *more devotion to the mother,*

*mother, than the son*; meaning Buckingham's mother, who carried on the traffic of preferments for her son, and consequently had a much greater levée. So this, we see, was a mere prophane joke of Gondamer's, speaking of court corruption under the terms of Religion. Now here comes an *Historian*, who by adding the words, *of God*, makes Gondamer give testimony to the growth of popery. But could he really believe that one Episcopal clergyman of this time ever prayed to the mother of God?

Ibid. "*Upon their principles.*"

If he means the *principles* which Laud followed in the administration of Church affairs, it is nothing to the purpose. If he means the principles Laud advanced in that conference, he knows not what he says; they were unanswerable.

P. 149. "*Selden says of the clergy of these times.*"

Here is another of the historian's arts. Selden speaks of the Puritan clergy: Yet by the terms here used the reader would naturally imagine that Selden spoke of the Episcopal clergy.

Ch. iii. p. 156. "*Attorney general Noy.*"

Could a fair historian have any more omitted telling his reader that NOY was a great Lawyer, than, if he spoke of Bacon, to acknowledge his great talents for Philosophy?

P. 178. "*More likely, &c. reputation depended.*"

Too absurd to be confuted. The circumstance of sending home the Queen's domesticks might have shewn him the folly of his conjecture. Buckingham makes a war to disgust the Parliament, and sends home the Queen's domesticks to *please* them.

P. 185. "*Accessory to all the abominations of Popery.*"

From so silly a sophism, so gravely delivered, I conclude, *Usher* was not that great man he has been represented.

Ch. iv. p. 209. "*And reverend aspect.*"

Here the Historian was much at a loss for his Confessor's good qualities, while he is forced to take up with his *grave and reverend aspect*.

P. 232.

P. 232. "*Should be cancelled.*"

Had Laud done nothing worse, than to prosecute this factious and illegal scheme, he might have passed both for a good subject and a prudent prelate.

Ch. v. p. 257. "*Filled with so much learning,*" &c.

It is written also with much wit and humour, which Lord Clarendon calls *Levity*. It might be so in a subject of importance: but on so trifling a question, wit and humour was in its place. But is it not something odd, that this historian should represent it as a trifling question, after he had made surplices, hoods, and square caps, a matter of such importance, that the whole kingdom was to be set in a flame, rather than to comply with them?

P. 272. "*That God would forgive Queen Elizabeth her sins.*"

This is an unfair representation—They were the sins of persecuting the holy Discipline which he prayed for the remission of; and *that* reflecting on her administration was the thing which gave offence.



P. 289. "*I can do no more.*"

Had he been content to do nothing, the Church had stood. Suppose him to have been an honest man and sincere, which I think must be granted, it will follow that he knew nothing of the Constitution either of civil or religious society; and was as poor a Churchman as he was a politician.

P. 290. "*Awakening Preachers—wild notes.*"

i. e. A mad fanatic, who will always draw the people after him. We have at present of these bull-finches without number, and their wild notes are as awakening as ever.

P. 295. "*Bp. Williams retired to his Diocese.*"

This prosecution must needs give every one a very bad idea of Laud's heart and temper. You might resolve his high acts of power in the state into reverence and gratitude to his master; his tyranny in the church to his zeal for, and love of, what he called Religion: but the outrageous prosecution of these two men can  
be

be resolved into nothing, but envy and revenge: and actions like these they were which occasioned all that bitter, but indeed just exclamation against the Bishops in the speeches of Lord Falkland and Lord Digby.

P. 303. "*Franciscus de Clard.*"

His real name was Christopher Davenport. He published an exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles in the most favourable sense. But it pleased not either party. It was put into the Index Expurgatorius by the Spanish inquisition, and would have been condemned at Rome, had not the King and Archbishop Laud pressed Penzani, the Pope's Agent in London, to stop the prosecution. *Popish Ch. Hist.* vol. III. p. 104, in V. Div.

Ch. vi. p. 387. "*Bp. Hatfield's tomb, which had been erected 25 years.*"

250 it should have been.

Ch. viii. p. 429. "*More a jingle of words than strength of argument.*"

If Grimstone's argument be a jingle of words, as the Historian confesses, how

should Selden's, which was delivered to expose the other, be a jingle of words too? Every one sees it is a thorough confutation. And whenever a jingle of words is designedly set in a light to be exposed, by making an argument out of them of the same form, they are no longer a jingle of words, but a conveyance of sense. The truth is, as to Grimstone's argument, the fallacy lies here, in supposing every thing of the *Jus Divinum* was questionable in a Bishop, and out of question in an Archbishop; whereas they both had in them the *Jus Divinum* of Presbyters; and therefore, as super-intendants of other Presbyters, they might suspend them. The fallacy of Selden's reply lies in this, that it supposes that Convocations and Parliaments meddle with any thing in Religion, which is *jure divino*; when they do not; but those things that are *jure humano*, as is every thing relating to Government and discipline.

P. 431. "*Archives of Oxford.*"

If this were worth notice, the Historian should have added that Bradshaw's broad-brimmed

brimmed hat is to be met with in the same place.

P. 434. "*Goodman himself was not executed.*"

Whose fault was this? He was remitted to the pleasure of the House, and they would not order his execution. The truth of the matter was this; each party was desirous of throwing the odium of Goodman's execution on the other; so between both the man escaped. In the mean time, how prejudiced is the representation of our Historian!

P. 436. "*A right to do by virtue of a clause.*"

To talk of the Legislature's having a right to do a thing by virtue of a clause in an Act of Parliament, is nonsense. The Legislature which makes the Act, is supposed never to die. So it is just the same as to say the Judge has a right to interpret the Law, by virtue of his own declaration affirming he had that right. So that if an attainder was a thing agreeable to natural justice, the Legislature needed no clause to enable them to pass it; if it was not agree-

able to natural justice, no clause or declaration of their own could make it so.

Ch. ix. p. 438. "*This [Lord Strafford's] Letter was but a feint.*"

It is affirmed by Carte (in his Life of the Earl of Ormond, and with some shew of reason), that this was a forged Letter, to induce the King's consent.

Ch. x. p. 504. "*But though the King,*" &c.

These insinuations against the King are certainly very unjust and groundless.

P. 505. "*That the English Court admitted,*" &c.

If he meant by the English Court, the King, he is scandalously uncharitable.

P. 510. "*That the King was willingly ignorant,*" &c.

This is a villainous accusation, destitute of all proof and likelihood. The poor King had follies and crimes of state enough to answer for, without loading him with so injurious and groundless a calumny. As to the favour the King afterwards shewed the Irish rebels, and his entry into treaty with them,

them, it was in his distresses to recruit his army, to make head against the overbearing power of the Parliament ; in which he acted as became one in his station, though it was foolish and unmanly in him to deny it.

P. 512. “ *At the motion of Lord Digby.*”

Why are we told this but to mislead us ? A year ago, before the King had made full satisfaction for his misgovernment, such a Remonstrance was seasonable : now he had made full satisfaction, it was factious and seditious. And that their very purpose was not to secure what they had got for the service of the old Constitution, but to pave the way for a *new*, was plain from their printing and publishing their Remonstrance, before the King could prepare his answer.

P. 512. “ *When the prospect of an agreement,*” &c.

i. e. When this unhappy accident afforded the demagogues in Parliament an opportunity of widening the breach between the King and Parliament. Otherwise this was a natural means for their uniting more firmly than ever.

P. 527. “ *Not that the House can be charged, &c. for the very next day.*”

The notorious falshood of this assertion cannot better be exposed, or shewn in a more contemptible light, than by the reason given of the assertion; *for the very next day, &c.* They have been charged by all mankind with encouraging the tumults; but nobody ever charged them with *avowing publickly*, that they did encourage them: and this is all that their precious Historian clears them of, by his *for the very next day.*

P. 532. “ *Null without the Peers.*”

Foolish—On the hypothesis (though a false one) there are three estates, Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and Commons. Two of them sit in one House, and compose one body: the third sit in one House, and compose another body. The Lords Spiritual are excluded; they remonstrate, and say, a force being put upon a part of that body, the acts of the other part are void. This is good reasoning on the hypothesis. But the hypothesis is false. The  
Bishops

Bishops do not make a distinct estate, but are part of the general Baronage which composes the House of Lords. However, our Historian reasons on the hypothesis, and says, that the Commons might as well pretend that the Lords proceedings were void without them, as that the Bishops should pretend so. What, do the Commons, like the Bishops, make up one body with the Lords, on which the Bishops argument is founded? Do they not sit and act as a distinct body? *Risum teneatis?*

P. 523. "*Occasion the dissolution of the Parliament.*"

If the King hoped so, he was fit for Bedlam too: but every body, but these poor-spirited Historians, see, that all the King could possibly hope from it, was, the getting the Bishops restored to their right.

P. 534. "*Because by the same rule.*"

That is to say, by the same rule that I pluck out a rotten tooth, I may pull out the whole set. This is only said to expose the Historian's foolish reasoning. As  
to



to the action itself, it was the most unparalleled folly that ever was committed.

P. 535. “*Mr. Echard with great probability,*” &c.

A charge against the Papists has always great probability with this Historian. It is a known uncontroverted fact that the advice was Digby's; nay the Historian confirms it by observing, that on its ill success Digby immediately withdrew out of the Kingdom. Yet in the same breath he tells us, it is more probable it was a project of the Queen and her cabal of Papists; and this on the authority of that poor scribler, *Echard*. They neither of them knew that at this time the Queen was almost frightened out of her wits, for fear of an impeachment; was actually projecting her escape; and was incapable of any vigorous counsel, intent only on her own safety: to effect which, she gave up Strafford to the slaughter, by that poor and ungrateful postscript she persuaded the King to add to his letter to the Lords.

P. 536. "*To leave Whitehall.*"

When a man runs away from his own house, it is a plain proof, I think, that he could stay no longer in it with safety. It is confessed the people were on the side of the Parliament. In such a situation we see how commodious it was for that body to pretend fears; it was the attaching the people more closely to them. But for the King, in this situation, to pretend fears, was acting the part of an idiot; for as all love of Majesty was gone, and the people restrained only by the apprehensions of its power, for the King to shew by pretended fear that he had no power was removing the only barrier to their rage and insult. We must needs conclude therefore that the King's were real, and not pretended.

P. 540. "*The hand of God was against them,*" &c.

The Puritans have a strange kind of logic. A seat in the civil Legislature for the Bishops the Puritans deemed an abuse. They are now deprived of their seat, which, in the sense of the Puritans, was bringing them

them nearer to the primitive standard. Yet this blessing (for such an one it was, if it brought them nearer to the practice of the purest times) must be reckoned, by these very Puritans, the hand of God in judgment for their sins. A Puritan gossip met a Churchwoman, her neighbour, one morning in the streets of Exeter. Hark you, neighbour, says the first, do you hear the news? Merchant such an one is a bankrupt, and Merchant such an one, the Churchman, loses ten thousand pounds by the break: there is God's judgment for *You*; the Merchant was ever a great scoffer at the Conventicle. And is this all you have heard? said the other. Yes.—Why then you have heard but half the news. Merchant such an one of *your* religion has lost fifteen hundred pounds by this break. I must confess, replied the first, a severe trial.

Ch. xi. p. 544. “*Resolutions of the Councils at Windsor, I leave with the Reader.*”

The judicious reader will laugh at our Historian for referring this question to his

determination. The Parliament was not now acting on the principles of Grotius's book *De Jure*, but on those of Machiavel's, called *the Prince*, where every thing is just, that is profitable.

P. 550. "*The whole controversy.*"

It is very evident, these suppositions (demonstrable as they are) this impartial Historian is by no means willing we should make, by his illusory expression in the first of them, where he says, *the King left his Parliament, and would act no longer in concert with them.* If by *leaving* he means deserting, as he would have the reader understand it, it is false: and if, by *not acting in concert*, he means that he refused doing his part in the Legislature, that is false likewise. If by *leaving*, he only meant removing from them to a distance, the King had reason; He was drove away by the tumults. If by *not acting in concert*, he meant not doing every thing the Parliament commanded, the King had reason here, too; for they would have stripped him of his whole Prerogative.

P. 551.

P. 551. “*In the opinion of the Lords and Commons.*”

Here is some mistake. The Historian is here appealing to his reader's opinion (not the opinion of the Lords and Commons), and telling us what conclusions the reader should make from his own opinions. So, if the reader *thinks the constitution was entire, that the laws were sufficient to secure us against Popery and Slavery*, he was to conclude the King's arguments strong. But if the two Houses declared that the King had deserted them, &c. what then? Why then we are to conclude that the two Houses are in the right: not the more for their declaration, I promise you. But such a reasoner is this Historian. He does not know how to state the opposite parts of his proposition.

P. 567. “*His Majesty had his ambiguities.*”

Here was no ambiguity. The King understood by *foreign aids* what certainly the Parliament meant, *foreign troops*. Are  
arms

arms and ammunition, bought with the crown jewels of England, what in English we signify by the words, *foreign aids*? But now there is neither end nor measure to this Historian's prejudices and false representations.

P. 569. "*And feeling apprehension.*"

The truth is, these poor people *felt*, as Sancho Pancha *saw*, by hearsay. The pulpit incendiaries had usurped all the people's faculties, and assumed the right of judging for them.

P. 583. "*Power of the Keys to themselves.*"

And wisely too. They had seen this power impiously abused by the Prelates; and they had no inclination to see a Prelate in every parish, more imperious, more cruel, and more ignorant, than the very worst of Laud's bishops. However, throughout the whole usurpation, the Presbyterian was the *established* Religion to all intents and purposes.

P. 586.

P. 586. "*Deserted the House of Commons,*" &c.

When a man is lifted into a party, you may always know him by his badge. Speaking of those who left the House of Commons and retired to the King, NEAL always uses the party-word *deserted*, which implies the betraying their trust. So indeed the Parliament called it ; but an Historian's using it is taking for granted the thing in dispute ; namely, whether leaving the House at this time, and going to the King, was betraying their trust, or preserving their *allegiance*. I consider the author here (as you see, by the defence of himself in his *Review*, he would be considered, nay complains of his adversary for not considering them, that is to say) as an *Historian*, not as a *Puritan*. See p. 5. of the *Review*.

P. 588. "*Massacre of Ireland.*"

What *sense* is there in this comparison, if you do not suppose the author to insinuate, that in the civil war in England, as in the massacre of Ireland, all the Protestant blood was shed on one side, and unjustly

justly and cruelly? and what *bonesty* is there in the comparison, if you do?

P. 596. "*Parliament had the better men?*"

To all these testimonies I think it sufficient to oppose that of Oliver Cromwell, in his speech to his Parliament, who speaks of it to them by way of appeal as a thing they very well knew, That the Presbyterian armies of the Parliament, before the self-denying ordinance, were chiefly made up of *decayed serving-men, broken Tapsters,* and men without any sense of religion: and that it was his business to inspire *that spirit of religion* into his troops on the re-form, to oppose to the principles of honour in the King's troops, made up of gentlemen. And Oliver was a man who understood what he said, and knew what he did: It is true, *Fanaticism* was called Religion by Oliver, just as *Cunt* is called Religion by our Historian.

P. 597. "*Great scarcity of preachers of a learned education.*"

This sure is no compliment to the *good old cause*, to have the learned against it.

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But,



But, to make amends for want of acquired knowledge, they abounded in inspired.

P. 600. “ *Comparing the learning of the Puritan Divines,*” &c. .

Our historian had owned just before, p. 597, that there were but few among them of a learned education. He had better have stuck to his word. Selden, Lightfoot, Cudworth, Pococke, Whichcot, &c. can with no propriety be called of the *party*: the most that can be said of them is, that they submitted to *the power*.

P. 615. “ *In which the kingdom is inflamed.*”

I believe all parties are agreed that if a mistaken King, of *good faith*, had made that full reparation for his misconduct, which Charles the First did, before the having recourse to arms, the Parliament ought to have acquiesced in peace with what they had got for the people. But Charles was a man of *ill faith*; and thence another question arises, Whether he was to be trusted? But here we must begin to distinguish. It was one thing, whether

those particulars, who had personally offended the King, in the manner by which they extorted this amends from him; and *another*, whether the publick, on all the principles of civil government, ought not to have sat down satisfied.—I think particulars could not safely take his word; and that the publick could not honestly refuse it. You will say then, the leaders in Parliament were justified in their mistrust. Here, again, we must distinguish. Had they been private *men* only, we should not dispute it. But they bore another character; they were *Representatives* of the publick, and should therefore have acted in that capacity.

NOTES ON NEAL'S HISTORY  
OF THE PURITANS.

VOL. III. 8vo. LONDON, 1736.

REVIEW OF THE PRINCIPAL FACTS IN THE  
FIRST VOLUME.

P. 5. “*Dress up Mr. Neal in the habit of a Puritan.*”

An atrocious injury, without doubt !  
Mr. Neal is only an Historian. It puts one

in mind of the trumpeter, who, being seized by his enemy in the rout of his own party, cried out for mercy, as being only a *trumpeter*. The more rogue you, cried the honest veteran, who set other people together by the ears, and will not fight yourself!

A P P E N D I X.

P. 83. “*With writers of these times.*”

The Author of the Vindication having been a Dissenter.

P R E F A C E T O T H I R D V O L U M E.

P. vii. “*This obscure clergyman.*”

This is a very just reproof.

Ch. ii. p. 62. “*More decency and respect.*”

Without doubt he would.—He had infinitely more esteem for the learning of the *Episcopal* Clergy, though perhaps no more love for their persons.

P. 80. “*Religious part of the nation.*”

i. e. the Puritan, for Puritanism and Religion are convertible terms with this Historian.

*Ibid.*

Ibid. "*Though it appears.*"

Why for this very reason it was not to be justified, because it was a force upon the conscience of these *Episcopal Divines of greatest figure.*

P. 93. "*From Geneva.*"

Deodati, the Prince of Divinity there, returned a very temperate answer, no way inconsistent with the re-establishment of Episcopacy. W. Hayes, MS. in Library, N° 28. M. G. Class,

P. 102. "*The interest of Dr. Cheynel.*"

Cheynel's villainous book, wherein he gives an account of his treatment of Chillingworth, is yet extant; and it confirms Lord Clarendon's accusation. Locke read it, and speaks of it in the harshest terms, but not more severely than it deserves.

Ch. iii. p. 107. "*Base and mutinous motion.*"

There is no circumstance that bears harder on the King's conduct than this. It is not to be conceived that these men, who hazarded all to support the King's right,

could advise him to any thing *base* in a mutinous manner. I doubt therefore that this is too strong a proof that nothing less than arbitrary government would heartily satisfy him.

Ch. iv. p. 164. “*Not inconsistent with public peace.*”

What! is not the declaiming against human literature, crying down magistracy, talking of a fifth-monarchy, inconsistent with the public peace?

P. 166. “*My wishes are.*”

It is apparent, from many circumstances in the young man's conduct, that he had his eye upon the crown, matters being gone too far for the King and Parliament ever too agree.

Ch. v. p. 247. “*More a man of business than letters.*”

Just the contrary. He did not understand business at all, as fully appears from the Historian's account of his civil administration, and was a great master of religious controversy.

P. 253. “*Admirable argument to induce the Prince to put the sword into the King's hands.*”

This is a foolish declamation. The subject here was Ireland, not the militia. The King is charged with breaking his promise to leave the Irish war to the Parliament. His answer is to this effect, and I think very pertinent—“It is true, I made this  
“promise, but it was when the Parliament  
“was my friend, not my enemy. They  
“might be then intrusted with my quar-  
“rel; but it would be madness to think  
“they now can. To prevent therefore their  
“making a treaty with the Irish, and in  
“their distresses bringing over the troops  
“against me, I have treated with them,  
“and have brought over the troops against  
“*them.*” This was speaking like a wise and able Prince.

P. 258. “*Episcopacy jure divino.*”

The Marquis of Hertford seems to have read Hooker to more advantage, than the King his Master; who fancied that great

man contended for the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy in his E. P. in which he has been followed by many Divines since.

P. 263. "*Were not these reasonable requests?*"

The Historian mistakes Lord Clarendon, who is not here telling us, what the Parliament were able, but only what they were willing to do. Their hands were tied, not by the *Scotch Covenant*, but by the *Scotch assistance*, which they could not keep without adhering to the *Covenant*.

P. 265. "*His Majesty's senile attachment to her imperious dictates.*"

Never was the observation, of the King's unhappy attachment, made in a worse place. His *honour* required him not to give up his friends; and his *religion*, viz. the true principles of Christianity, to take off the penal laws from peaceable Papists; and common humanity called upon him to favour those who had served him at the hazard of their lives and fortunes.

Ch.

Ch. v. p. 266. “*The Earl by his Majesty's Commission yielded,*” &c.

The Earl exceeded his Commission, which is known to every body.

Ch. vi. p. 270. “*Taking themselves to an easier and quieter life.*”

I don't know what any one could say worse of these pretended Ministers of Christ, the Puritans, than what is here confessed. They set out in the office of trumpeters of rebellion, being chaplains to the Regiments of Essex's army. As soon as they had gained their end, which was dispossessing the Episcopal beneficed clergy, they nested themselves in their warm Parsonages, and left the Parliament soldiers a prey to those they themselves most hated, the independent fanatic lay preachers.

Ch. vii. p. 360. “*An unjust and malicious asperson.*”

The Historian, before he said this, should have seen whether he could answer these two questions in the affirmative.—Would the English have paid the arrears without  
the



the person of the King?—Would the Scots have given up the King, if they could have had the arrears, without?

Ch. viii. p. 408. “*Not only abandoned and renounced these senile doctrines, but have,*” &c.

To know whether the Presbyterians have indeed *abandoned* their persecuting principles, we should see them under an establishment. It is no wonder that a *tolerated* sect should espouse those principles of Christian liberty, which support their Toleration. Now the Scottish Presbyterians are *established*, and we find they still adhere to the old principle of *intolerance*.

Ch. x. p. 493. “*Selden.*”

What has Selden here to do with Ministers, Puritans, and Persecutors?

P. 495. “*Keep a weekly fast.*”

These were glorious Saints, that fought and preached for the King's destruction; and then fasted and prayed for his preservation, when they had brought him to the foot of the Scaffold.

P. 497.

P. 497. “*And not being willing to apply,*” &c.

They had applied to the Protector, and received such an answer as they deserved. A deputation of the London Divines went to him to complain, that the Cavalier Episcopal Clergy got their congregations from them, and debauched the faithful from their ministers. Have they so? said the Protector: I will take an order with them; and made a motion, as *if* he was going to say something to the Captain of the Guards; when turning short, But hold, said he, after *what manner* do the Cavaliers debauch your people? By preaching, replied the ministers. Then preach BACK again, said this able statesman; and left them to their own reflections.

P. 527. “*And virtuous morals.*”

How could he say that these officers, who, he owns, were high enthusiasts, were yet men of sober and virtuous morals, when they all acted (as almost all enthusiasts do) on this maxim, That the end *sanctifies the means*, and that the elect (of which number they

they reckoned themselves chief) are above ordinances ?

P. 530. “ *Published a Protestation.*”

And yet these very secluded members had voted the Bishops guilty of high treason for protesting in the same manner, when under the like force.

*Ibid.* “ *Oliver Cromwell was in doubt.*”

And is this Historian indeed so simple as to think *Oliver Cromwell* was really in doubt ?

P. 545. “ *As strong and convincing as any thing of this nature possibly can be.*”

There is full as strong evidence on the other side ; all of which this honest Historian conceals—evidence of the King’s bed-chamber, who swear they saw the progress of it—saw the King write it—heard him speak of it as his—and transcribed parts of it for him. It appears by the wretched false taste of composition in Gauden’s other writings, and by his unchaste language, that he was utterly incapable of writing this book. Again, consider what credit

was

was to be given to Gauden's assertion of his authorship. He confesses himself a falsary and an impostor, who imposed a spurious book on the publick in the King's name. Was not a man so shameless, capable of telling this lye for a Bishoprick, which he was soliciting on the pretended merit of this work? As to *Walker*, it is agreed that Gauden told him that He (Gauden) was the author of the book, and that he saw it in Gauden's hand-writing; which is well accounted for by a servant, a tithe-gatherer of Gauden, who swears that Gauden borrowed the book of one of the King's friends (to whom it was communicated by the King for their judgments) to transcribe; that he [Gauden] sat up all night to transcribe it, and that He [the tithe-gatherer] sat up with him to snuff his candles, and mend his fire. It is agreed that Charles II. and the Duke of York believed, on the word of Gauden, when he solicited his reward, that He [Gauden] wrote it. But then this forwarded their prejudices: and what they believed, Lord Clarendon would believe too. On the whole, it is so far from

from being certain, as this Historian pretends, that the book is spurious, that it is the most uncertain matter I ever took the pains to examine. There is strong evidence on both sides ; but I think the strongest and most unexceptionable is on *that* which gives it to the King.

P. 549. “ *This unrighteous charge.*”

The Presbyterians subdued and imprisoned the King. This is agreed on all hands. Then the Independents, getting uppermost, took the King from them, and were determined to murder him. They would have had the Presbyterians join with them in this murder, of which they [the Independents] were to have all the profit, and the Presbyterians only a share in the odium. Besides, they mortally hated the Independents for opposing their two darling points, the *Divine Right of Presbytery*, and the *use of force in religious matters*. Was it likely that in these circumstances the Presbyterians should join with the Independents in the odious project ? And had they not a wonderful deal of merit in opposing it ? But  
had

had these Independents been ready to set up their idol of Presbytery; and on their own terms, on condition of joining with them in the murder; I *ask* then, whether it is likely they would have stood out? Those who have read only *this history* of them, will have little reason to think they would. Those who were capable of punishing Arians with death, were capable of doing any wickedness for the *cause of God*.

P. 551. “*Who had the greatest hand in it of all.*”

There is doubtless a great deal of truth in all this. *No party of men, as a religious body*, further than as they were united by one common enthusiasm, were the *actors in this tragedy*, (see what Burnet says below). But who prepared the entertainment, and was at the expence of the exhibition, is another question.

F I N I S.







